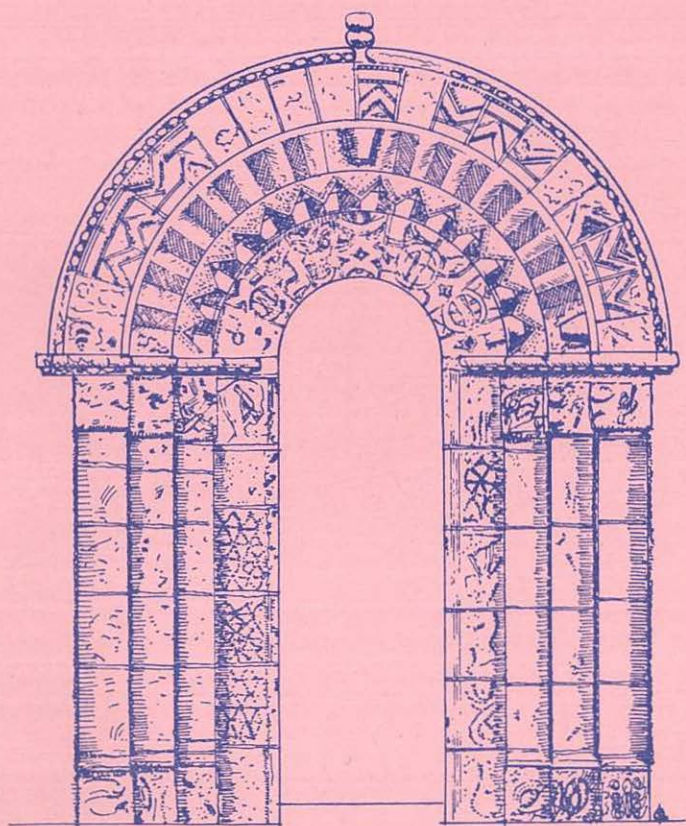


BREIFNE



1968

BREIFNE

Vol. III

No. 11

JOURNAL

OF

CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE

(BREIFNE HISTORICAL SOCIETY)

CAVAN :

PUBLISHED BY CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE

1968

BREIFNE

JOURNAL OF CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE

(BREIFNE HISTORICAL SOCIETY)

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The cover shows the twelfth-century Kilmore Cathedral Doorway. Design is by Philip Cullivan, B.Arch.

Articles, books for review, correspondence, etc., should be sent to the Secretary, Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne, St. Patrick's College, Cavan.

Subscription for membership is 10/- (two dollars in U.S.A.). Members get the journal free. Price to non-members is 15/-.

CANÚINT MHUINTIR CHIONNAITH AGUS CHLANN FHEARMAIGHE

LE STIOFÁN Ó CEILLEACHAIR

II

AMHRÁIN

I. SÍOS FAOI BRAOCH LOCH AILEANN
(Aodh Mac Conshnámhá)¹

Tá buachaillín óg san áit seo a bhfuil cóta mór agus cáb air,
Shíleas tú gur bráthair é nó adhbhar sagairt óig,
Ní racaidh sé insa párlúr gan cailín óg bheith ar láimh leis,
Agus síos faoi braoch Loch Aileann, chaith mé tosach fa mo shaoghal.

Shiubhail mé barr agus fiche míle, agus ní fhaca mé duine nó daoine
Capall, bó, nó caoirigh, gheobhtha air (ing)eilt air a bhféar,
Ach búithreach beathaigh allta bhí fir is mná gan fuintear ionn,
Agus síos faoi braoch Loch Aileann, chaith mé tosach fa mo shaoghal.

Chuidh mé isteach go tigh, d'iarraidh greim beag bidh,
Labhair siad liom sa Bhéarla cér'bh as mé an buachaill óg,
Abair mé leobhtha 'na Gaedhilg gur shiubhail mise fan Éire
Agus síos faoi braoch Loch Aileann, chaith mé tosach fa mo shaoghal.

Bhí sean-bhean beag sa gclúide, agus bhí stocaí air a glúna,
D'éirigh sí go lúthmhar, go dtug sí dú-sa póg,
Mo ghrádh thú fear do thíre, seach a bhfaca mise de na daoine,
Agus síos faoi braoch Loch Aileann, chaith mé tosach fa mo shaoghal.

2. D'FHÁG MÉ MO MHUINNTIR
(Aodh Mac Conshnámhá)

I left my own parents on a foolish design,
I listed in the army for so long a time,
I boldly deserted for the sake of my dear,
In the depot of Carrick I remained that long year.

D'fhág mé mo mhuinntir, an mhuinntear gan chéill,
Liosdail mé san t-armí feadh seachtmhain agus bliadhain,
Rinne me desertáil mar gheall ar mo bhruidhin,
Insa bpríosún i gCara go bhfuil mo lóisdín fáirfor.

¹Chuir mé ainm an chainteora faoi'n teideal agus na notaí ó deire an trachtais ag bun gach phíosá.

I wish I was in England, in France, or in Spain,
Or in the West Indies where my darling does remain,
Mary, lovely Mary, you're the queen of all maids,
And I sit and drink with you until the clear dawn of day.

Fáiríor, nach bhfuil mé sa Sasanaí, sa bhFrainnc nó sa Spáinn,
No insa West Indies, air mo lóisdín air fagháil,
Máire an chúil dúlaigh a mbéadh sí eadar mo dhá láimh,
Agus bhéinn-sa 'ghá bréagadh go n-éirighe an lá.

Tá mé 'mo luighe ar mo leabaidh dúil le suaimhneas a d'fhagháil
Ghlac mé pian in mo thaobh dheas agus pian in mo láimh
Dochtúirí na Fódhla a mbéadh siad uilig ar fagháil,
Níl mo leigheas ag a bhfuil in Éirinn ach ag aon bhean amháin.

cf. *A.Gh.Ch.Ch.*, lch 29.

3. CAOINE SHEÁIN MHC SEARRAIGH
(Aodh Mac Conshnámhá)

Agus a Sheáin 'ic Searraigh, bheirim sgread cráidhte,
Agus faoi chlár go fóill thú,
Agus óchón.

Chuir mé ceapaire min coirce leat chun Aifrin Dia Domhnaigh
Agus paidreacha Seáin 'ic Searraigh cum smalc cum dúdóg,
Agus óchón.

Tá pota beag agam agus an pota mór
Agus trí ba bainne agam ar cosa coróin (?),
Agus óchón.

Tá teach breá claidhe agam ar taobh a' bhóthair,
Agus dhá fuinneóga gloine ar cosa coróin,
Agus óchón.

Is deas an áit é ag buachaill óg,
Agus faoi shean-duine ní bhfuighead go deó,
Agus óchón.

Chomh fáda is eol dom ní'l an caoine seo i gcló in aon áit.
D'éir mar d'innis A. Mac Conshnámhá dom bhí an bhean seo
ag caoineadh a fir céile agus é fa chlár, ach san am chéadna bhí
súil in áirde aice leis an am a bhí le teacht. Bhíodh sí chomh
maith sin do'n fhear a bhí marbh go gcuireadh sí "ceapaire
min coirce" leis agus é ag dul ar Aifreann i dtreó is nach mbéadh

ocras air an fhaid a bhéadh sé amuigh. Leideadh do na fearaibh óga a bhí ag éisteacht a b'eadh é sin. Thiubhradh sí an-chúram do dhuine ar bith acu a phósfaidh arís í. Rud eile bhí an pota beag aice, an pota mór, trí ba bainne, teach brea claidhe, rud ab'annamh san am. Ní phósfaidh sí sean-duine arís; duine óg atá uaithe.

4.

FÓTHÁNNÁN DE BUIDHE
(Aodh Mac Conshnamha)

Chuaidh mé fhéin is mo bhean go teach torra
Fóthánnán de buidhe,
Bhí siad a' cur fear a' toighe i gcómhra clára
Fóthánnán de buidhe.
Dubhairt mo bhean liom lá ar na bhárach,
Fóthánnán de buidhe,
Má luighfe tú siar agus bás a d'fhágáil' sin
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.

Cuirfe mé cómhra airgid, is bocht le rádh sin,
Fóthánnán de buidhe.
Nó cómhra órdha is mór le rádh sin,
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.
Nuair a mhothuigh mé féin na bréithre bréagtha sin,
Fóthánnán de buidhe
Luigh mé siar agus geabh (?) mé an bás sin,
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.

Cuirigí duine 'na coille bhainseas an t-adhmad,
Fóthánnán de buidhe,
Cuileann-cá-cuilleann (?) agus dhá mhaide fearna,
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe
Nuair a mhothuigh mé féin na bréithre gránda,
Fóthánnán de buidhe,
Léim mé siar de'n sgála,
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.

Bhuail mé cic uirthi sios an fánaidh
Fóthánnán de buidhe
An darna cic go tobar Pádraic,
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.
Mura bean mo bhean, agus mura bean mo mháthair,
Fóthánnán de buidhe,
Bhéadh sgéal eile le rádh leat,
Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.

Sgéal indiú agus sgéal amárach
 Fóthánnán de buidhe,
 Agus sgéal eile taobh fuiste de'n geata,
 Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.
 Nuair d'éirigh mé féin lá ar na bhárach,
 Fóthánnán de buidhe
 Cé chí agam ach Malaidh go náire,
 Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.

Chrom sí, ceann is rinne sí gáire,
 Fóthánnán de buidhe,
 Ná crom do cheann ní tú bean an t-adhbhar,
 Is óró grádh mo chroidhe.
 Ach mise mé féin abhí dolba dána,
 Fóthánnán de buidhe.

cf. *An t-Ultach*, Domhnach Cásca 1928;
ibid., Iúl 1928; *C. de Cheol. U.*, lch 89.

5. SRÁID A' BHÓTHAIR RÓIDH
 (Aodh Mac Conshnámha)

Bhí mise lá gan amhras
 Dul sráid a' bhóthair róidh,
 Nuair is dú-sa a chas an plannda
 Ba dheise is a b'áille gnaoi,
 Bhain mé dhíom mo hata
 Go gcuirfinn uirthi cluain,
 Is nuair shíl mé dul dhá bréagadh
 Is beag d'éalocha (?) sí uaim.

cf. *G.A.*, lch. 80; *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*, Feabhra 1901.

6. A' gCLUIN TÚ LUCHT NA BÉARLA
 (Aodh Mac Conshnámha)

A' gcluín tú lucht na Béarla
 Quit Your buying calico,
 Ní'l sgoil agat, ní'l léigheamh agat
 And you do not know what's fitting for it rú
 Agus bí anonn is bí anall a Mháirín,
 Agus árduigh ort an gloine seo.

Tá "aye" agam agus tá "no" agam,
 Agus dár ndóigh tá "for what" agam,
 Agus nára maithe ar lucht na Béarla

Tá mo lóisdín fáda beach (?) agam,
 Agus bí anonn is bí anall a Mháirín,
 Agus árdúigh ort an gloine seo.

Níghfidh sí le mún,
 Agus triomóchaidh sí le spadaigh,
 Agus buailfidh sí cuid mhór-mhór,
 Le túairnín an Cathal-Ó (?)
 Agus bí anonn is bí anall a Mháirín,
 Agus árdúigh ort an gloine seo.

Ní h-eol dom aon leagan eile de seo. Tá nóta ar an bhfocal
 "rú", line 4, ag an Máilleach i n*Ur.*, alt 418, agus arís *L.F.*,
 lch 181.

7.

BINN BINN BOBERÓ
 (Aodh Mac Conshnámhá)

Binn binn boberó 'gus óró maise grádh
 Chonnaic mé do mhúirnín dul chun Sligigh leis na Bheá (?)
 Binn binn boberó agus óró rádh.

Binn binn boberó 'gus óró maise grádh,
 Tá dhá mhúirnín óga agam ar aon baile amháin,
 Binn binn boberó 'gus óró rádh.

Binn binn boberó 'gus óró maise grádh
 Tá mo mhúirnín óg, ach ar ndóigh béidh sí a' fás
 Binn binn boberó 'gus óró rádh.

Binn binn boberó 'gus óró maise grádh
 Tá mo mhúirnín fuireach liom as an gcliabhán,
 Binn binn boberó 'gus óró rádh.

8.

AN TSEAN-BHEAN BHOCHT
 (Aodh Mac Conshnámhá)

Nach truaigh nach tú sa muileann agam
 A shean-bhean bhocht,
 Nach truaigh nach tú sa muileann agam
 A shean-bhean bhocht,
 Nach truaigh nach tú sa muileann agam,
 Agus do cheann ar sac na mine agam,
 Nó go ndéan(f)aidhe Dusty Miller
 De mo shean-bhean bhocht.

Nach truaigh nach bhfuil tú póstaí liom
 A shean-bhean bhocht,
 Nach truaigh nach bhfuil tú póstaí liom
 A shean-bhean bhocht,
 Nach truaigh nach bhfuil tú póstaí liom,
 Agus dhá pháistín óga agam,
 Agus tú fhéin bheith ar lóisdín liom,
 A shean-bhean bhocht.

9. 'SÉ AR MAIDIN FHOGHMHAIR
 (Peadar Mac Eoghain)

'Sé ar maidin Fhoghmhair is mé 'triall go Feóchaill,
 Cé cas dú ach a stór mo chroidhe,
 'Sé dubhairt sí stop is ná stróic mo chlóicín,
 Nach bhfuil fios do ghnótha sin ag bean a tighe.

Ní ar aghaidh na ngeata nó ar aghaidh na sléibhte
 Ach mé geall ars mo leanbh bán (?)
 Is tá sgéal beag eile agam le h-innse go fóill duit
 Is iomdha cailín óg nach bhfuil aice maos,
 Is beannacht Dé leat is ná stróic mo chlóicín,
 Is gheobhfa sinn lóisdín insa teach seo thíos.

cf. *An t-Ultach*, Samhain 1925.

10. DOMHNALL 'AC PÁIDÍN
 (Peadar Ó Flionn)

'Sé Domhnall 'ac Páidín fear óg atá sástaí,
 'Sé an bárraidhe is fearr é atá insa tír,
 Le ceangal is le cár(r)nadh is ro-mhaith 'na ghárraidhe,
 'Gus in aimsir an Mháirta go gcreahí sé an síol.

'Gus a Dhomhnaill a rascal ná pós tusa i nDúbáille,
 Nó bé tú faoi dheacair a's ní mhairfe tú bliadhain,
 Béidh do bhríste mór-pháirteach ort do shean-céilín (?) hata,
 Do léinín beag bárraigh a's glug in do bhróg.

Agus nuair éireóchas tú ar maidin cuir scuab ar an teallach,
 'Gus isteach sin go gasta kann uisge nó dhó
 'Gus mara ndéanfaidh thú go fascaidh é bhéarfaidh sí an grape ort,
 'Gus an tsean-bhróg go dtí an deireadh le cic in do thóin.

Ní h-eol dom aon leagan eile den amhrán
 seo i gcló in aon áit eile.

II. AN CAILÍN BEUG CUMHRA DEAS
(Séamas Dubhthaigh, Sgeithín, Cill Mobhí, Co. Mhuigheo)

Thiar i mBaile na Páirce,
Tá cailín beag cumhra deas,
Bhain(f)eadh sí duileasc a's báirneach
A's creanach ar thaobh na gcloch.

'Sérd dubhairt mise le Máire,
"Freasdal an tráigh go moch
Agus geobhfa tú lán do mhala,
Agus ní bhéidh do chuid páisdí ag gol".

12. AN T-SEAN-BHÓ
(Áine Bean an Bhreathnaigh, Cill Fhir Taidhg, Co. Shligigh)

Dhearc sí uaithe ar fud na sléibhte,
Leig sí géim a's shil sí deor,
A Dhomhnaill Uí Eilighthe nár gheall tú féar dhom
Ba dona an tréad duit mo 'chur sa gCaiseal mór.

Ní sean-bhó mhalluighthe mé a d'íofadh éadaigh,
Ach bearach spéireamhail de'n chineál cóir,
Agus go mba bhuan mo mhallacht ar an té chuir bréag orm,
Go n-íofainn gréasaidhe is é a lascadh bróg.

cf. Ó Máille, *Urlabhraidheacht*, lch 167.

13. BRINY NEILAN
(Seán Ó Feinneadh, an Ghráinseach, Co. Shligigh)

"Staicín insa tír seo mé
'Gus Briny Neilan i mBéal an Átha
'Gus nach fearr sin féin do rádh liom
Nó go ngoidfinn rópaí báid.

Chuirfinn fataí láighe,
'Gus bhainfinn mo Fhoghmhar le corrán
Agus nach sin an rud ba dhual dhom
Ná an fidil in mo láimh?"

"A Bhriny," ars an fidil
"Nach mise atá thú a rádh
'Siomdha teach tabhairn'
Uaidh Sligeach go Béal an Átha
'Gus d'ólfá mo shaoradh uilig
Sul a d'éirighe tusa uaidh an clár."

14. CUMHADH NA H-ÓG-MHNÁ
(S. Ó Dubhthaigh)

Tá mo chroidhe-sa brúighte brisde,
Mar leac-oidhre ar uachtar uisge,
Ná bonn bróige buailte i gceardchaidh,
Ná gual claidhe ar tálta bána,
Agus tá lionndubh mór ós chionn mo gháire.

cf. *An Lochrann*, Deire Fomhair, 1909.

15. MO SHEAN-DUINE DÓIGHTE
(Tomás Mac Giolla Mháirtín)

D'éirigh mé amach ar maidin Dia Domhnaigh,
Fuair mé mo shean-duine báidhte (i) bpoll móna,
Chuir mé ar a' bhfaradh é déana so much (?)
Thuit a chuid olna de 'gus diabhal a mbíonn beo de.

cf. *Dhá Chéad de Cheolta Uladh*, lch 278.

16. TÚIRNE MHÁIRE
(Aodh Mac Conshnamha)

'Sé túirne Mháire an túirne sástaí
Shiubhal sé cuid mhaith d'Éire,
Níl cnoc ná gleann dá ndeacha sé ionn
Nár fhág sé páirt dá thréithe.

17. AN SEAN-DUINE DÓIGHTE
(Áine Bean an Bhreathnaigh)

Tá an aimsear seo doineannta agus an iomarca fuacht ann
Síor-chur fearthainne agus sneachta adtuaidh ann,
Mise sa mbail 'gus mé a' faire na luaithe
Agus mo bhróg' ag an ngréasaidhe i ngioll ar na bhfuasgailt.

'Sé deir na cailíní tá mé gan foghnamh
'Sé deir cuid eile acu tá mé gan bróga
Anois teacht na Nodlag agus dúil agam pósadh
Godé cuma damhsó' mé an sean-duine dóighte.

RANNA

1. COMHAIRLE
(Tomás Mac Ghiolla Mhairtin)

An comhairle thug sagart dhom sean-duine a phósadh,
Cuma linn fhéin 'gus a phócaí thógáil,
Cuma linn fhéin 'gus a phócaí thógáil,
Is cead bheith agam-sa bheith i muinighin na comharsan.

2. AN GANDAL CÓIR
(Tomás Mac Ghiolla Mhairtin)

Éirigh suas a Pháirtidhe, a's cuir isteach na lachain
Bliadhain is an oidhche aréir goid(eadh) an gandal fada,
Sin an gandal cóir, pór na géacha maithe.

3. AN T-ÓL AGUS AN LEISCEAMHLACHT
(S. Ó Dubhthaigh)

Dá mbéadh an gaoth a dtuaidh ionn agus an teach a fhuadach,
Ní leigfeadh an fuacht dhom a dhul ó'n splainnc,
Ach, dá mbéad teach ósda ag bun na cruaike,
Ní stopfainn a choidhche go dtéighinn ionn.

4. COMHAIRLE I DTAOBH DO NAMHAD
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

Nár mharbhuighe mise duine
Agus nár mharbhuighe duine mé
Ach má thig duine do mo mharbhughadh,
Go mba mé a marbhuighfeas é.

cf. *Seanfhocla Uladh*, lch 109.

5. CHUAIDH MISE GO LONDUIN
(Stiofán Ó Crémar, Gorvesk, Co. an Chabháin)

Chuaidh mise go Lonnduin agus chonnaic mé iongantais,
Trí potaí fiuchadh gan aon teine faoi (?)
Cait lasadh coinnle 'gus cait eile 'damhsa,
Luchóg a' marbhadh an fhiaidh 'gus fiadh déanamh leanua.

6. BEAN NÁR THAITHNIGH BAN-CHLIAMHAN LÉI
(Aodh Mac Conshnámha)

An chéad—tá sí ró-ónórach;
An dara—tá sí ró-chrosta;
An tríomhadh—tá tí ró-reamhar;
An ceathramhadh—tá sí ró-thanaidhe le fear céird.

RIDIRE AN BHÓTHAIR
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

Bhí mise sa teach a raibh clampar ionn
Bhí lachain agus géacha agus franncuigh ionn
Bhí an fhearthainn anuas fríd lár a' tighe,
Is níor chodail mé néal le dreancaidí.

8. AN PHAILEABHAIR
(Aodh Mac Conshnámha)

Cé léigheas an leabhar
Is nach coinnigh 'na mheabhair,
Is furus paileabhar a rádh leis.

9. RANN DAMHSA
(Aine Bean an Bhreathanaigh)

Sean-bhean ghiobach, ghiobach,
Sean-bhean ghiobach liath
Sean-bhean ghiobach, ghiobach
Fuaramuid ar an t-sliabh.

Dubhairt Áine liom gur mhinic a chuireadh a sean-mhátair í
agus na paistí eile ag damhsa. Bhíodh an rann seo aici in
aonacht leis an gceol a ghabhadh leis.

10. DAMHS' ANOIS A PHAISDÍ
(Áine Bean an Bhreathnaigh)

Soir chuig a doras, 'gus anoir in do shodar,
Agus go cliabh a' lín, go cliabh a' lín,
Déan do promenade i lár a' tighe,
Soir chuig an doras, 'gus anoir in do shodar,
Agus go cliabh a' lín, go cliabh a' lín, 7rl.

II. GLEACAIDHEACHT AN PHÍCE
(Áine Bean an Bhreathnaigh)

Bun do phíce ag barr do spáige,
Croch aníos é go dtí do bhásta,
Cuir ar aghaidh é agus déan a sháthadh,
Tarraing arais é go neartmhar láidir,
Cuir suas é agus déan do ghárda,
Cuir síos arís é go bun do spáige.

Tá leagan eile den rann seo i gcló sa
Claideamh Solais, Eanáir 1901.

12. MO CHÁILÍN RUADH
(Toirdhealbhach Ó Ruairc)

Is deas í mo chailín, is ró-dheas sí
Tá sí a moladh mar tá sí ruadh.
D'imthigh sí uaim-sa le buachaill siopa,
Agus slán go dtoilidh (bhfillidh?) sí mo chailín ruadh.

Rann agus ceol leis a chanadh na cailíní nuair a
bhíodh siad ag sníomhadóireacht.

13. TÁ MO GHRÁDH 'NA SPEALADÓIR
(Toirdhealbhach Ó Ruairc)

Tá mo ghrádh 'na spealadóir,
Marbhuighfe sé na froganna,
Bhéarfa sé an fheoil abhaile dhom
For-rú 'gus for-rai.

cf. nóta fé uimh. 12 thuas.

14. DÁ MHARBHUIGHINN AN RIABHAIGH
(Toirdhealbhach Ó Ruairc)

Dá Mharbhuighinn an Riabhaigh, is da n-ithinn an fheóil
Dá ndólaínn a croiceann is a luach uilig dh'ól,
Dá gcuirinn mo bhrísde ar an ngríosáigh is a dhóghadh,
Godé sin do'n té sin nach mbainfeadh sé dhó.

cf. nóta fé uimh. 12 thuas.

15. FÁISTINE CHOLUIM CILLE
(Aodh Mac Conshnáma)

Bútaisí ar gach breallán,
Béarla ag gach tachrán,
Teach geal ar gach cosán,

Muileann ar gach slodán,
Agus na mná óga go dolba dána.

PAIDREACHA

I. ALTUGHADH ROIMH BIADH
(Aodh Mac Conshnamha)

Bail na gcúig arán agus an da iasc
Bhí ar na cúig mhíle.
Do roinn Dia—rath ó'n Rígh
Rinne an roinn
Go dtigídh ar ár gcuid
Agus ar ár gcomhroinn.

cf. *Amhráin Diadha Chuige Chonnacht*, iml. II, lch 72; LS.
23.1.9, Acadamh Ríogha na h-Éireann; *Dánta Diaga*
Uladh, lch 260.

2. A' CUR UMAT DO CHUID ÉADAIGH AR MAIDIN
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

In ainm an Athar agus an Mhic agus an Spioraid Naoimh.
Seo ar maidin, Bail Dé agus rath Pádraig, ar a bhfeicfe mise
Ar a nglacfa mé, agus ar mo chuid féin agus ar chuid mo chomharsa.

3. DEICH N-AITHEANTA DÉ
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

Creidim a mhic i nDia go glan,
Ná tabhair ainm Dia gan fáth.
Coiméad an t-saoire mar is cóir,
Tabhair dod athair agus do mháthair ónóir.
Ná déan marbadh, goid na drúis,
Ná fiadhnaise bréige in aon chúis.
Ná sanntouigh in éinfheacht leat fhéin
Clann duine eile ná airnéis

cf. *Teagasc Críostaí an Árd Easbuig Mhic Éil*.

4. PAIDIR DON MHAIGHDEAN MUIRE
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

An beag is an mór,
An críon is an t-óg,
Dá bhfuil is dá mbéidh,
Faoi bhreith na Maighdine Muire.

5. PAIDIR DON MHAIGHDEAN MHUIRE ROIMH DUL A CHODHLADH
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

A Mhaighdean Bheannuighthe, a Mháthair Dé, is glégeal atá gan smál, bí againn anocht, agus go bráth, agus ar uair ár mbáis. Amen.

6. PAIDIR I NDEIRE AN PHAIDRÍN
(Bríd Bean an Fhallamhnaigh)

Cúig Paidreacha, cúig Abhé Maria agus Cré, i n-ónóir agus i n-éiric, don Mhac Dé, agus don Mhaighdin ghlórmhair, le trócaire agus grásta dhéanamh ar ár n-anamnacha féin, agus ar anamnacha dá mbaineann linn.

SGÉALTA

CONN A'S A MHÁIGHISTIR
(S. Ó Dubhthaigh)

“Chuinn, nach starabout maith é sin?”

“Godé an goir bhéadh aige ar starabout níos fearr: dá leiginn é sin amuigh ar an bóthar rithfeadh sé síos cúpla céad slat tá sé chomh tanaidhe sin. Dá bhfeictheá an starabout a bhíonn againn-ne sa mbaile, d’fhéadfá rás a dhéanamh ar a mhullach agus ní fhágfá lorg do sháile air.”

kun agəs ə ʷa:jd’ər’

xun Nax sdarəbout max’ ɛ: jin’— gədɛ: n gīr’ ə v’e g’ə r
sdaɾəbout N’i:s f’a:r—a: L’eg’əN’ ɛ: jin’ amuix’ er’ə bo:hər
r’ihəd ʃɛ: ʃi:s ku:plə k’ɛ:d sLatə ta: ʃɛ: xo tanI: jin’—a:
v’ek’ha: n stareəbout ə v’i:Ns əgīN’N’ə sə mal’ə— d’ɛ:ta: ra:s
ə ʃi:nu: rə ʷuLəx agəʃ N’i: a:gha: Lorg də ha:l’ er’

Nota: Giolla a b’eadh Conn. Maidin d’á raibh sé ag ithe a bhriceasta tharla go ndeaca a mháighistir thart. Mhol an máighistir an leite a bhí aige ach níor cheap Conn a mhór dí. An cómhrá tharla eatorra atá sa giota.

ÍOSFAIDH MÉ DHÁIBHIDH
(Áine Bean an Bhreathnaigh)

Insa t-sean-am ní théigheadh siad ar Aifreann go dtí go mbíodh siad mór, go mbíodh féasóg ortha. Shocruigh Máirtín ar dhul chuig an Aifreann. Bhí blá mór, meas mór aige ar an Aifreann agus

'chuile shórt a bhaineas leis. An Domhnach thar gcionn bhí sé ann i bhfad roimh an Aifreann. Bhí na sean-daoine a' rádh an Paidrín Páirteach agus nuair a bhí sin thart bhí sé ag imtheacht abhaile. Casadh an sagart air.

"Ah! tá tú mall a shagairt. Tá an t-Aifreann sin léighthe romhat."

"Ara gabh i leith, a Mháirtín, gabh i leith, agus innis dom cé dubhairt é nó godé an cuma 'nar dubhairt sé é?"

"Ara sean-scramaide—ní raibh blá ar bith air nuair nach raibh tú fhéin ann; féach mar dhubhairt sé é, 'íosfaidh mé Dháibhidh'—ara ní raibh blá ar bith air nuair nach raibh tú fhéin ann."

"Tara uait isteach anois a's léighfe mise an t-Aifreann duit-se."

oi:sə m'ɛ ɣa:jə

ənsə t'an am N'i: hɛ:əd ʃi:əd er' af'r'əN gə d'i: gə m'i:x ʃiəd mo:r—
gə m'i:x f:ɛ:so:g orhu—hokrɪ: mɑ:rt'i:n' ɛr gul əg' əN af'r'əN—
v'i: blɑ mór:m'as mo:r eg'ə r' əN af'r'əN agəs xil'ə ho:rt əwan'əs
l'ɛʃ—ə dō:nəx har g'uN v'i ʃɛ: aN əwad rev' əN af'r'əN—v'i: Nə
ʃan dy:n'ə ra:n pad'r'i:n pa:rt'əx agəs Nuər' ə v'i: ʃin' hart v'i:
ɛ: g'im'əxd əwal'ə—kasu: ə sagərt er',

ah ta: tu: mɑL ə hagərt'—ta:n taf'r'ən' ʃin' L'e:t'i: ro:ət

arə goL'e wɑ:rt'i:n' goL'e gəs in'əʃ dum k'ɛ: du:rt' ɛ: no: gədɛ:
n xumə nəɾ gu:rt ʃɛ: ɛ:

arə ʃan sgraməd'ə—N'i: rə blɑ: er' b'ix' er Nu:ər Nax rə tu:
he:n' aN—f'ɛ:x mər u:rt ʃɛ: ɛ:—i:sə m'ɛ ga:jə i:sə m'ɛ ga:jə—
arə N'i: ro: blɑ: er'b'ix' ɛr Nu:ər Nax ro tu: h:n' aN

turə wet' əʃd'ax əniʃ agəs L'e:t'i: m'ifə n taf'r'əN dīt'ʃə

Bhí Máirtín fásta suas sul a ndeaca sé go dtí an t-Aifreann. An chéad Domhnach do chuaidh sé ann bhí sean -fhear a' rádh an Phaidrín roimh theacht an t-sagairt chun an t-Aifreann do léigh. Nuair a bhí an Paidrín ráidhte thosuigh sé ar an liodáin 'na dtagann na focla "Íosa Mhic Dháibhidh" isteach inntí. Cheap Máirtín gur dhubhairt an sean-fhear "íosfaidh mé Dháibhidh." Duine le Dia ab' eadh Máirtín bocht.

GAEDHILG I NDÁMHSRATH (Aodh Mac Conshnámha)

Bhí mé féin agus m'athair ar an aonaigh sa baile mhór. Cé casfadh ar an t-sráid againn ac Malaidh McGurty.

"Ar mhothuigh tú Pat," ar sise lem athair.

"Mhothuigh", ar seisean.

"Ar dhíol sé an mart?"

"Dhíol."

"Cé mhéid a fuair sé?"

"Seacht bpúnt is deich scilling."

"Och! seo sa t-saoghal, go bhféachaidh Dia ar an lá ariamh a chuir mé fáinne ar an codladh-ina-sheasamh sin."

gE:l'ig' ə Nā:fra

v'i: m'e: he:n' agəs mahər' er' əN i:ni: sə bal'ə wō:r—k'ε:
kasu: er' ə tra:d' əgīN' ax mallI: mə gu:rtı:
ər wı:x'ə tu: pat ər fıfə l'əm ahər'
wy:x'ə ər fəfən
ər je:l' fən mart
jε:l
k'ε: v'ε:d ə fu:ər fε:
fəxd bu:Nt əf d'eh f'g'ıL'əŋ'
ox fə sə tı:l—gə v'ε:xı: d'i:ə er' ə La: rı:əw ə xır' m'ε: fəNə
er' ə koLu: nə hasu: jın'

Baile beag i gClann Fearmaighe seadh Dámhsrath. D'innis Aodh an sgéilín seo faoi eachtra bhig thárla ann lá d'á raibh sé féin agus a athair ar an aonach. Deich mbliana a bhí sé san am agus deir sé go raibh cuid mhaith Gaedhilge le cloisint nuair a bhí sé féin óg, rud a thaisbeánas go raibh an Ghaedhilg fluirseach go leór corradh beag le seasga bliadhain ó shoin.

SCRATHÓG

(Aodh Mac Conshnámh)

Nuair a bhí mé dhá bhliadhain déag bhí mé millteach tinn, agus ars m'athair lem mháthair, "rachaidh mé síos agus gabhfa mé suas an dochtúir liom. Chuaidh sé síos insa baile mhór agus tháinig sé ar ais é fhéin agus an dochtúir. D'fhéach sé mo chuid cuisleann agus ar seisean, "tá sé millteach go dona, millteach tinn, teannócha mé síos ar ais go gcuiridh mé suas buidéal purgoid leis."

Bhí mé millteach go dona, dhá léigtheá lámh ar mo chuid croicinn dhóighfeadh sé thú. An lá ar na bháireach cé tháinig isteach ach sean-bhean.

"Godé mar atá an gearra-bhodach?"

"Tá sé millteach go dona," ars mo mháthair. Chuaidh sí suas insa leabaidh dhom d'fhéachfadh sí mo chuid cuisleann.

"Mallacht Dé ar an dochtúir sin", ar sise, "tá sé ar meisge gach uile lá san bliadhain, go bhféachaidh Dia ar a bhfuil dependáil air."

"Gabh amach sa garrdha," ar sise lem mháthair, "agus gabh isteach glac maith chickenweed; rachaidh mé síos chuig an teach go gcuirfidh mé ar ais liom scrathóg, tá sí ar an maradh."

Tháinig sí ar ais agus an scrathóg léi. Nuair a bhí an chickenweed ar fiuchadh ar an teine, thóg sí amach í, agus chuir sí isteach glac salainn insa pota agus leath-phrionta ime. Dhóirt sí an measgán isteach sa scrathóg agus thug sí dhá phurgóid dhom agus an lá ar na bháireach bhí biseach orm.

cf. an focal SCRATHÓG, lch 292.

ner' ə v'i: m'ɛ: ɣa: v'l'i:ən' d'ɛ:g v'i: m'ɛ: m'il'tɛx t'iN'—agəs ərsə mahər' l'em w̃a:hər'—raxə m'ɛ: ji:s agəs ɣəuə m'ɛ: su:əs ə doxtu:r l'um—xu:i fɛ: ji:s ənsə bal'ə w̃o:r agəs ha:n'ək' fɛ: r'af ɛ: he:n' agəs ə doxtu:r'—d'ɛx fɛ: mə xid' kɪʃl'ə agəs er fɛʃən—ta: fɛ: m'il'tɛx (sic) gə donə m'il'tɛx (sic) t'iN'—t'aNə:ə m'ɛ: ji:s er' af gə ɣirə (sic) m'ɛ: su:əs buid'ɛ:l purgo:d' l'ɛʃ

v'i: m'ɛ: m'il't'ɛx gə donə—:a L'eg'ha: La:w r' mə xid' krɛkiN' ɣo:həd fɛ: hu:—La:r Nə w̃ər'ɛx k'ɛ: ha:n'ək' ɛsd'ax ax ʃənv'an ɣədɛ: mər ta:n' ɣ'arəwədɛx

ta: fɛ: m'il't'ɛx gə dunə ərsə mo w̃a:hər'—xu:ə ji: su:əs ənsə L'abl: ɣum d'ɛ:xəd ji: mə xdi kɛʃl'ə

məLəxd' ɛ:r'ə doxtu:r ji:n' (sic) ɛr ji:fə (sic)—ta: fɛ: ər' m'ifg'ə ɣax il'ə La: sən b'l'i:ən'—gə v'ɛ:xi d'ier' ə wil' d'əp'in'da:l' er'

gə max sə ɣarl: ɛr ji:fə l'əm w̃a:hər' agəs gə sd'ax ɣlak max' *chickenweed*—rakə (sic) m'ɛ: ji:s əg' ə t'ax gə ɣir'ə m'ə: raf l'um sgraho:g—ta: ji: ɛrə maru:

ta:nək' (sic) ji: r'af agəs ə sgraho:g l'e:—e (sic)—ner' ə v'i:n' *chickenweed* er' f'oxu: er' ə t'in'i: ho:g' ji: max i: ɣəs xur ji: ʃd'ax ɣLak salin' ənsə potə ɣəs L'a f'r'iN't' im'e—ɣo:rt' ji: n' m'asga:n əʃd'ax sə sgraho:g' agəs hug ji: ɣa: furgo:d' ɣum agəs n La:r Nə wa:r'xə v'i: b'ifɛx orm

SEAN—FHOCLA

1. Is fearr fuigheall a' mhadaidh ná fuigheall a' mhagaidh.
ə́s f'ar fy:l ə wadl: na: fy:l ə w̃agl:
2. Is fearr an t-ádth ná éirghe go moch.
ə́s f'ar ə ta: Na: ɛ:r'i: gə mox
3. Níl tréad ar bith gan coilíneach.
N'i:l' t'r'əd er' b'ix' ɣən kəl'inəx
4. An áit a cailltear feanntar.
əN ā:t' ə kal't'ər f'aNtər
5. An rud a scríobhas an púca léighead sé fhéin é.
ə rud ə ʃg'r'iwəs ə pu:kə l'e:d ʃe: he:n' ɛ:

6. Is giobach í an cearc go dtógaidh sé a h-ál.
 es g'íba i: n' x'ark gə do:gI: fí (ə) ha:l
7. Téigheann an doicheall go dtí an smior agus ní fhágann sé sin
 go bráthach.
 t'ε:N ə dεx'əl gə d'i:n sm'ir agəf N'i: a:n' fə fín' gə bra:x
8. Céallachán fada agus díoghbháil bróg, gní sé sean-duine de'n
 duine bhíonnas óg.
 k'ε:ləxan fadə gəs d'i:wa:L' bro:g g'r'i: sε: (sic) faNín'ə
 gən yi:n'ə (sic) v'i:Ns o:g
9. Ná h-abair dadaí le dadaí agus ní bhéarfaidh dadaí dadaí leat.
 Na: habər dadI: l'ε: dadI: agəf N'i: jε:ri dadI: dadI: l'at
10. Lá breagh dul do do phósadh agus lá dóirtiú dul chun do chille.
 La: b'r'a: gul də də fo:su: gəs La: do:rt'u: gul ən də
 x'il'ə
11. Is olc an rud moladh luath faitchíos cáineadh mall.
 es ulk ə rud molə Lu: fat'i:s ka:n'ə ma:l
12. Is tú an srathar in áit na diallaide.
 es tu:n frahər əN a:t' Nə d'i:ələd'ə
13. Is deas an rud an módhamhlacht agus an cuidiulacht.
 es d'as ə red ə mū:ləxd agəs ə kiv'ələxd
14. Níor bhris cearc an áilín a sbúrsán féin ariamh.
 N'i:r' v'r'if kark (sic) əN əL'in' ə sbu:rsa:n f'e:n' ər'i:əw
15. Is maith Dia go lá agus ní fearr ná go bráthach.
 es max' d'i:ə gə La: gəf N'i: far (sic) Na: gə bra:
16. Tá tú mar atánn tú agus níl tú gan locht.
 ta: tu: mər əta:N tu: gəf N'i:l tu: gən Loxd
17. Grádh grás mór, tiocfa fuar é.
 gra: gra:s mū:r t'ukə fu:ər ε:
18. Castar na daoine ar a chéile ach ní castar na cnuic.
 kastər Nə dy:n'i: rə x'e:l'ə ax N'i: kastər nə krík'
19. An méid is a léigh tú níl dadaí múnadh ort.
 ə m'e:d' əsə L'e:—e (sic) tu: N'i:l dadI: mu:nu: ort

20. Beannacht leat a mháthair agus go mba fearr amárach thú.
b'aNəxd l'at ə w:əhər' əgəs gə mə f'ar mərəx (sic) hu:
21. Beannacht le Éire agus le buaidhreadh an t-saoghail.
b'aNəxd l'e:jə gəs l'ε bu:əjəN ty:l'
22. Tá an t-seamair Mhuire in do chríos.
ta:n' t'amuijə w̃ijə də x'r'i:s

CORRA CAINNTE AGUS ABARTEACHA NACH IAD

1. Tá sé strumpuighthe le díomhaointeas.
ta: ʃε: sdrumpI: l'e: d'i:w̃y:N't'əs
2. Thug sé sgiúradh na sean-chruinneóige dhom ('Sé sin a rádh—
 thug sé léasadh maith dhom).
hug ʃε: ʃg'uru: Nə ʃan xriN'o:g'ə gum
3. Chomh dorcha le tóin a' phota.
xə dorexə l'ε tū:n'ə fotə
4. Chomh mí-thairbhtheach leis an Glas Gaibhleann.
xə m'i:har'f'əx l'εʃ ə glas gev'l'əN
 Duine a dhéanfadh obair mhaith agus a loitfeadh 'na dhiadh
 sin í atá i gceist. Bhíodh neart báinne ag an nGlas Ghaibh-
 leann, ach godé an mhaith sin dhoirteadh sí a mbíodh
 istigh sa soitheach le cic. "Is beug an mhaith bó a doirtear
 a chuid bainne". *S.Fh.M.* lch 197.
5. Chuga, chuga uisce sálach, fág an bhealach.
hugə hugə iʃgə (sic) sa:ləx fa:ga ə b'aləx
 Rabha do na sídheóga go rabhtas chun uisge sálach a
 caitheadh amach.
6. Stop do thachailt. **sdop də hahəL't'**
 Dubhairt Proinnsias Ó Maolmoicheirge gur mhinic a
 dubhairt a athair leis "stop do thachailt" nuair a bhíodh
 an Ghaedhilg agus an Beurla 'ghá mheasgadh aige.
7. Tá sé an dá bhuille déag **ta: ʃε:N da: wiL'ə d'ε:g**
 "An dá buille déag" a cloistear i Muintear Chionnaith agus i
 gClann Fhearmaighe.
8. An bhfuil ceann a d'fhéidhm ort **ə wīl' k'aN ə je:m' ort**
 Ba ó m'áthair féin a chuala mé an abairt seo ar dtús lá dár
 iarr mé bata air agus sinn réidh chun dul ar shiubhlóid.

Fuair mé amach go n-úsáidtear “a d’fhéidhm ort” go foirleathan i Muinntir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe.

cf. O’R. féidhm: need, necessity; *S.Mh.L.* “Tá féim uilig agam air”—lch 19, “Níl féim agam-sa urthe”—lch 45; *Mo Dhá R.*, lch 36; *Q.*

9. Tá graithe agam le bata **ta: grahi gum l’ε: batə**

cf. *S.Mh+L.*, lch 17.

10. Déan do graithe go maith **d’in də grahi: (sic) gə max’**

Tá an focal seo “graithe” an-choitcheann i Muinntir Chionnaith agus i gClann Fhearmaighe. Chuala mé go minic é i n-Iar-Chonnacht.

cf. *S.Mh.L.* lch 72.

11. Tá sé millteach prostóiceamhail **ta: ʃε: m’il’t’əx prɔsdo:k’u:l’**

Focal an-choitcheann i gClann Fhearmaighe ‘seadh prostóiceamhail. Úsáidtear sa Bhéarla féin é fá dhuine a bhfuil éirghe ináirde a’ baint leis gan aon rud taobh thiar de.

cf. *D.* próstóiceamhail.

12. Potamineamhail **potəm’in’u:l’**

Bród gan chúis gan adhbhar an bhrigh atá le “potamineamhail”. D’réir mar thuigim-se is ionann ciall dó agus prostóiceamhail. Níor chualas i n-abairt Ghaedhilge á ach mar seo:

“He has a lot of potamineamhail about him”. B’fhéidir go dtagann an focal ó’n dá fhocal “pota” agus “min”. Duine bocht nach mbíodh aige ach an dá rud, ach san am gcéadna bhíodh a cheann san aer aige.

13. Tá sé báidhte insa poll
ta: ʃε: bat’i: ənsə puL

14. Tá an saoghal buailte leis an gcogadh **ta:n sɪ:l bu:əL’t’i: l’ɛʃ ə gogu:**

15. Tá sé ag dul ar siubhal go dúlacht **ta: ʃε: ə gul ər’ ʃu:l gə du:ləxd**

B’é Séan Ó Feinneadha ó’n nGráinseach adubhairt liom an abairt sin ar dtús.

“Dá mbéadh duine ar cuart agat,” ar seisean liom, “agus nach mblasfadh sé braon tae nó eile dearfaoi leis agus é

imtheacht: 'Tá tú ag dul ar siubhal go dúlacht mar bhí céilidhe tur tartach agat.' "

Chuala mé an focal céadna i Muinntir Chionnaith ach ba i n-abairt Béarla chualas é. "Muide you had a dúllaí () céilidhe", adearfaoi fá dhuine nach n-ólfadh braon tae nó aon bhlas eile a tairgfí dhó.

16. Thullach thállach **huləx ha:ləx**
Is ionann "thullach thállach" agus rúille búille.
17. Bhí sé ar a rás **v'i: ʃɛ: r'ə ra:s**
'Sé sin a rádh bhí sé ar a theicheadh.
18. Is cuma faoi'n blaoisg mara bhfuil an sleabheán brisde.
əs kumə fɪ:n bly:ʃg' marə wɪl' ə ʃL'o:ka:n b'jʃd'ə (sic)
19. Tá mé a' dul a lomadh mo chaorach **ta: m'ɛ: ə gul ə lumɪ: mə xɪ:rəx**
Tá an dul seo cainnte go minic ag Céitinn.
Úsaideann "Máire" é. *Mo Dhá R.* lch 38, "D'éirigh sé 'dhamhsa an oidhche seo".

NÓTA EAGARTHÓRA: THEOPHILUS Ó FLOINN

San chaibidil deiridh den tráchtas tá cúntas goirid ag an Uas. Ó Ceilleachair ar Theophilus Ó Floinn, file agus seanchaí. Rugadh Ó Floinn lámh le Druim Chaorthainn i gceannntar Mhuintir Chionnaith timcheall 1770. Maille le sin tá seacht ndán de chuid Uí Fhloinn curtha i gcló aige agus léirmheas déanta orthu mar fhilíocht agus mar chanúint. Fuair sé na dánta seo san dá lámhscríbhinn 23.0.42 agus 23.1.8 in Acadamh Ríoga na h-Éireann. Seo thíos céadlínite na ndánta:—

Ó d'imthigh Mac Consnámha d'úr-scoth na cléire. (Cumhaidh na Cléire).

Do Bhéarfaidh mé an chúairt so air uaisle Gaodhal.

Air Bhruach Loch Céidh chómhnuigheas croidhe na féile.

Is mian lion féin trácht air Árdrigh na Coigiughadh.

Do bhéurfa mé an chuairt so go Connachta gan spás.

As i dTuaim Ghaillibh na féile do chómhnuigheas an Árdfhlaith b'fearr clú agus cáil.

Is Mian liom féin trácht ar Árd-fhlaith na féile.

Tá na dánta fágtha ar lár agam as an eagrán seo de Chanúint Mhuintir Chionnaith agus Chlann Fhearmhaighe de bhrí go bhfuil siad ró fhada.

Nil maitheas ar bith ionntu mar fhilíocht agus ní chuireann siad mórán le taighde Uí Cheilleachair ar an gcanúint.

Mar seo adeir Ó Ceilleachair féin: "Taobh amuigh den chéad dán '*Cumhaidh na Cléire*' is beag maitheas mar fhilíocht atá in aon ní eile dár chum sé . . . Tá sé soiléir freisin . . . go bhfuil dlúithbhaint idir chaint na ndánta agus canúint na ndaoine i Mhuintir Chionnaith agus i Chlann Fhearmhaighe".

Ma theastaíonn eolas níos iomláine ón léitheoir ar Theophilus Ó Floinn tá teacht air in alt a scríobh an t-Uas. P. S. Clancy, N.T. san chéad eagrán den iris seo (*Breifne*, Iml. 1, Uimh. 1, 1958). San eagrán chéanna tá *Cumhaidh na Cléire* curtha in eagar ag an Uas Séamas Ó Mórdha M.A.

Notes on the Volunteers, Militia, Yeomanry and Orangemen of County Cavan

by

Oliver Snoddy

(National Museum of Ireland)

In dealing with these institutions we are dealing primarily with the history of the colony in Ireland and of its reactions to the revolutionary or neo-revolutionary atmosphere created by the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. A modern parallel — not to be stretched too far — would be to say that we are dealing with the equivalent of the English in Rhodesia; and as there are some Africans in the Rhodesian Parliament so too were there assimilated into the colonial structure in Ireland. A closer approximation might be the *peuds noirs* of Algeria.

That the colony was, at this time, beggared was to a great extent due to the absenteeism of so many of the landlords, the gross overloading of the Irish civil list and the multiplication of places for placemen and pensions for favourites.

The outbreak of the American War of Independence led to the withdrawal of a few thousand soldiers from the Irish Establishment for service against the Americans. The resources of the Irish Military establishment were seriously inadequate for defence and when Dublin answered that Belfast could be supplied only with a troop or two of horse and some invalids, at a time when Belfast feared Paul Jones, the public arming and organising of Volunteer units became accelerated until the idea caught hold on a countrywide basis.

Cavan was at one with the other counties in this and by 1781 had 1,000 men whose services were offered to the Government.¹ The accompanying map will give some indication of their distribution about the county: these units can also be seen in their relation with the Yeomanry corps and Orange Lodges of a later period.

When one notes that Catholics could bear arms legally, and that by and large they were not allowed into the Volunteer units in any large numbers and when one realises that the Cavan

¹ *Belfast News Letter*, 11 September 1781.

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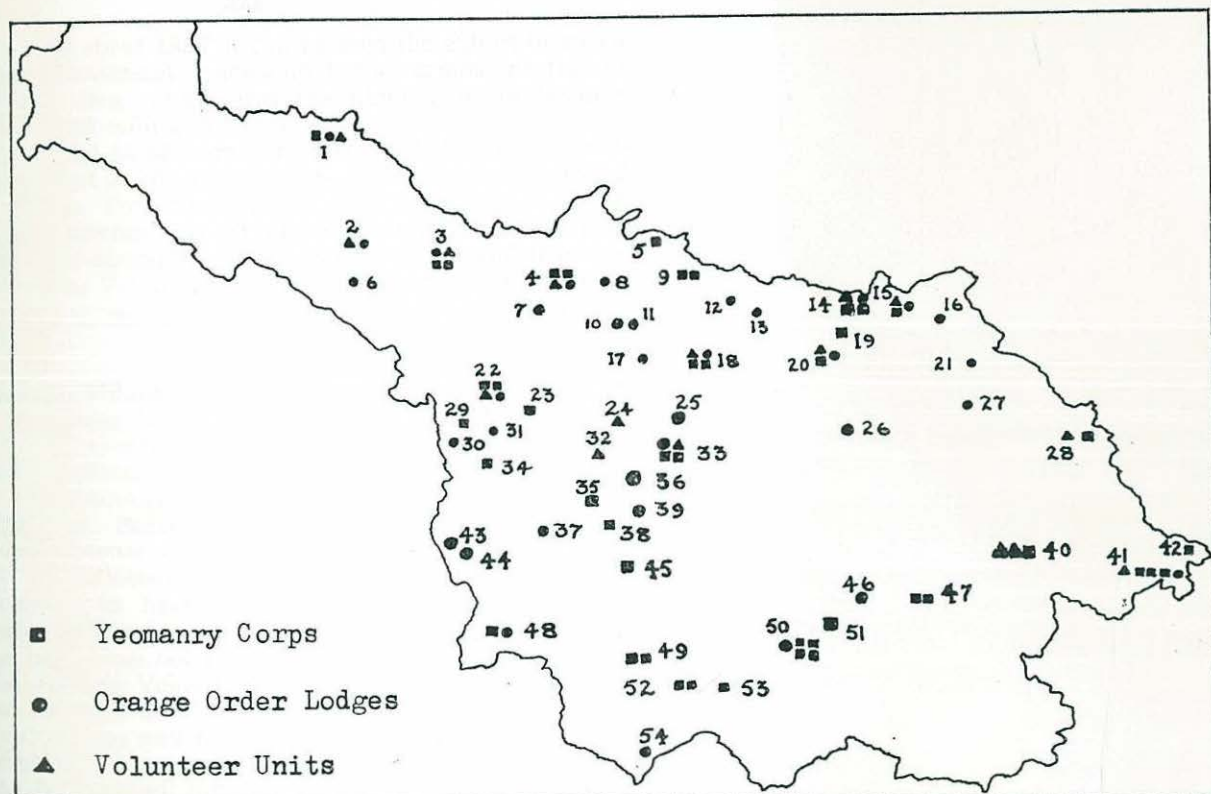
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Map of Co. Cavan showing Yeomanry Corps, etc.

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| 1. Swanlinbar | 19. Largy | 37. Drumrockady |
| 2. Bawnboy | 20. Rakenny | 38. Belville |
| 3. Ballyconnell | 21. Killa | 39. Drumheel |
| 4. Belturbet | 22. Killeshandra | 40. Bailieboro |
| 5. Castlesaunders | 23. Castlehamilton | 41. Kingscourt |
| 6. Corboy | 24. Farnham | 42. Cabra Castle |
| 7. Drumheriffe | 25. Drumalee | 43. Arva |
| 8. Sugarloaf | 26. Drumcalpin | 44. Drumalt |
| 9. Redhills | 27. Latsey | 45. Ballintemple |
| 10. Drumalure Beg | 28. Shercock | 46. Billis |
| 11. Drumalure More | 29. Hackwood | 47. Killinkere |
| 12. Mullaghlougher | 30. Portlongfield | 48. Scrabby |
| 13. Corcraff | 31. Cappagh | 49. Clonmahon |
| 14. Ashfield | 32. Kilmore | 50. Ballyjamesduff |
| 15. Cootehill | 33. Cavan | 51. Kilmore |
| 16. Pottleboy | 34. Tullyhunco | 52. Ballymachugh |
| 17. Butlersbridge | 35. Crossdoney | 53. Fortland |
| 18. Ballyhaise | 36. Clonagonnell | 54. Kilgola |

electorate totalled about 1850² it can be seen the extent to which the Volunteer movement represented the armed protestant property of the area. (2,677 was the number of protestants arrayed in the 1756 militia in Cavan.^{2a})

A further point to be borne in mind is that in many instances — though not so often in Cavan — Volunteer units carried the words, Boyne, True Blue, Aughrim, Glorious Memory in their titles as a further underlining of their fundamental political position. The birthday of King Billy was marked throughout the country by Volunteer parades, celebrations and toasts.

It is as well to list³ the Volunteer Companies of Co. Cavan at this stage:

Ashfield Volunteers, also known as Ashfield Infantry and as Volunteer Association of the Manor of Ashfield with which the Clements family was connected and to which I have noted references in 1781, 1783 and 1784.

In Bailieborough there were two, possibly three units of Volunteers. Bailieboro First were commanded by R. Sanderson. Colonel was Charles Stewart and James Breakey is cited as Adjutant of 'the two Companies'.⁴ Bailieboro Second seems to have been Stewart's particular interest and is also referred to as Ballyborough Infantry. References to these have been noted in 1780, 1783, 1784, and 1785.

The Banboy Volunteers commanded by John Ennery are also referred to as the Bawnboy Corps of Rangers and Banboy Company and references to them in 1780 and 1783 are recorded.

The Ballyconnell Infantry were the preserve of George Montgomery M.P. and a Captain Benison is also referred to. The years in which they have been noted are 1783 and 1784.

The Ballyhaise Volunteers also known as the Ballyhays Infantry were captained by one of the Newburghs and their adjutant — sometimes referred to as Captain — was William Moore. References to them have been noted in 1780, 1783, 1784 and 1788.

The Belturbet Volunteers are often called the Belturbet Infantry and sometimes Belturbet Company. They are noted in 1780, 1783 and 1784. John M. Jones was their captain and in 1784 Mr Saunderson is cited as commander.

I have seen one reference in 1780 to the Cavan Cavalry.

2 cf. map 1 facing p. 116 of Edith M. Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland, 1760-1800* (Edinburgh, 1963).

2a *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 28-31 August 1779.

3 This list, separately compiled, is fundamentally the same as that compiled by T. G. F. Paterson and published by him in *The Irish Sword*, (no. 29), Winter, 1966, vol. VII, pp. 308/9.

4 Newspaper cutting c. 15 July 1780 (6-1935 NMI).

The Cavan Infantry on the other hand are noted in 1779, 1780, 1782, 1783 and 1784 were under the command of the Hon. J. J. B. Maxwell, having a Lieutenant Freeman and being referred to also as the Cavan Independent Volunteers, the Cavan Company and the Cavan Independent Company.

The Cootehill Infantry are noted in 1783 and 1784 with Ralph Dawson and Mr Meade as officers.

The Farnham Rangers were captained by John Elliott in 1783.

The Kilmore Company are noted in 1780, 1782 and 1783 with a Lieutenant Bredin. George Carmichael was secretary.

A unit called the Kingscourt Volunteers is noted in 1779.

The Killeshandra Infantry also referred to as Kilcandra, Killashandra Volunteers, Killashandra and Killeshandra Volunteers had Colonel Southwell, and captains James Gowry and Young as officers and are referred to in 1779, 1780, 1783, 1784 and 1788.

The Montgomery Volunteers noted in 1779 are most likely the Ballyconnell Infantry.

The Rakenny Volunteers had Theophilus Clements as Colonel. Their secretary was James Deane and other names noted in connection with them are Fleming, Pallas and Montgomery. They are also known as Rakenny Independent Volunteers, Rakenny True Blues, Rakenny Independents and Rekenny True Blues. References to them are noted in 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783. Paterson lists two units under the names Rakenny and Rathkenny Independents. I think it most likely that they were one and the same unit.

At Shercock in 1784 there was a very unusual company — a corps of Roman Catholics. The liberal tendency of many of the volunteer resolutions had encouraged many of the middle and upper class loyalists or assimilados to join in step with the colonial establishment.⁵

Finally there are references in 1779, 1780, 1783 and 1784 to the Swanlingbar Infantry or Swadlinbar Company

5 In case I may seem to be stressing these aspects too much I think notes like the following from the 1904 edition of Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland* would indicate what I mean. Under Clements one notes seats at Ashfield Lodge, Killadoon (Celbridge), and Lough Rynn (Dromod) while the club frequented was the Carlton (p. 95). The entry for the assimilado Catholic family MacEvoy, under de Stapoole, gives seats at Mount Hazel, Ballymacward, Co. Galway and Talbotstown, Enfield, Co. Meath; a town residence at 24 Cadogan Square S.W. (London, of course, not Dublin) and the club frequented as St. James (p. 147).

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which were also commanded by John Enery.

About half of these surnames were on militia officers of the 1745 and 1756 arrays, Sanderson, Montgomery, Moore, Newburgh, Jones, Maxwell, Elliott, Bredin, Young, Fleming and Stewart⁶ while Clements occurs earlier in the 1708,⁷ 1715,⁸ 1725,⁹ and 1727/8¹⁰ lists and Enery on those for 1715.¹¹ One can suggest therefore that the bulk of our volunteer officers came from families with a tradition of loyal local military service to the cause of the crown and its colony in Ireland. There is a Fleming on the 1702, 1708 and 1715 list; Young occurs on the 1708, 1715 and 1725 list; Bredin on the 1708, 1715, 1727/8; Elliott on the 1715 and 1725; Maxwell on the 1715 and 1727/8; Jones on the 1708, 1715 and 1725; Newburgh on the 1708, 1715, 1727/8; Moore on the 1715 and 1727/8; and Sanderson on the 1708 and 1715 lists.¹² Their activities should perhaps be seen against this background.

It is as well to refer to some of the newspaper¹³ accounts of the Volunteers of Cavan. A meeting of the Cavan Independent Company (John Ball being secretary) with Lt R. Freeman in the chair on 24 May 1780 thanked their captain the Hon. James John Barry Maxwell "for his present of so elegant a stand of Colours" to the company on the previous Monday. On 15 July 1780 the two Bailieborough Companies met — James Breakey being Adjutant — to thank Mrs Stewart for her present "of an elegant stand of Colours" and their Colonel Charles Stewart "for his attention to these companies since their formation". On 26 July 1780 a trial exercise preparatory to the 1 August review was held on the Belturbet Commons. Present were the Belturbet Company under Capt. John Jones, the Cavan Company under Lt Freeman, Capt. Moore (who was Adjutant for the day) with his Ballyhaise company, Capt. Ennery the reviewing officer with his two companies — Bawnboy and Swanlinbar — and the Kilmore company under Lieutenant Bredin. Two stand of Colours were on show — probably those referred to above and the assiduity of Capt. Moore in training the companies is praised.

A note dated 29 July 1780 announces that "the Gentlemen

6 *A list of Officers in the several Regiments and Independent Troops and Companies of Militia in Ireland*, pp. 10-14 incl. (Dublin, 1761).

7 *Notes and Queries*, 31 May 1924.

8 *ibid.*, 30 August 1924.

9 *ibid.*, 25 October 1924.

10 *ibid.*, 1 November 1924.

11 *ibid.*, 30 August 1924.

12 See the lists in *Notes and Queries*, 17 May, 31 May, 14 June, 28 June, 30 August, 25 October and 1 November 1924.

13 Except where separately identified all these references are from the newspaper cutting collection (6-1935) in the National Museum of Ireland.

of the Cavan Cavalry propose meeting and dining together at Balls', in Cavan, on Monday, 21 August, to ballot for such Gentlemen as may wish to become members, and to adopt such rules and regulations, as may be thought proper for the corps". Already one notes the move towards clubmanship and away from strictly military concerns in the ballot and rules drafting references.

The review on 1 August of "many hundreds" was again under Colonel Enery with Moore as Adjutant. On 5 August the Ballyhaise Volunteers (R. McIlree, secretary) thanked Capt. Thos. Newburgh for his present of "an elegant stand of colours" and Adjutant, William Moore "for his unremitted assiduity".

A newspaper entry of 22 July 1780 angrily refutes the suggestion about Cavan in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of 7 July that "a dissenting parson, who is also Lieutenant of Volunteers, marched to meeting in that post, and then in his uniform, with sash, gorget, and sword, mounted the pulpit, and preached" and the inference in the rhetorical question "whether he preached the doctrine of a minister of peace, may be judged by the garb he chose". The Irish newspaper says "no such circumstance as that stated to have occurred in the county of Cavan, ever occurred".

One notices that the Rakenny Unit was not referred to in the accounts of the Cavan review. They seem to have opted out of the County for these functions and one notes them as party to the Resolutions adopted at the Newry Review of 21 and 22 August 1780 in which the political tone and commercial concern of the volunteers is quite apparent.

One notes also (*DEP*, 25 April 1780) that the following Volunteer officers were on the Cavan Grand Jury, Montgomery, Clements, Sanderson, Elliott, Newburgh, Jones and Moore.

The fact that the Rakenny unit did not partake in common with other Cavan units at the review in 1780 may reflect the deep political split between Clements and Montgomery. In the structure of politics in Cavan in the eighteenth century there were 6 M.P.s, 2 from Cavan County and two each from the rotten boroughs of Belturbet¹⁴ and Cavan. The Belturbet M.P.s. are not of specific interest in the present context. The Cavan Borough is more so. It was the joint property of the Nesbitt and Clements families who shared the patronage between themselves by a formal agreement, drafted in 1722¹⁵, which was adhered

14 Belturbet was sold for £8,700 by Lord Lanesborough to the La Touche family who subsequently married in to the Lanesborough family. It was later sold to the Earl Belmore for £11,000 and its owner was compensated to the tune of £15,000 for the loss of its franchise at the Union. (Edith M. Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 173/4). It had 12 Burgesses — few resident — : Cavan had 13. (*op. cit.*, p. 321).

15 Text in Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

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to until they divided the £15,000 compensation for its political extinction under the Act of Union.¹⁶ The ramification of their financial gain through pensions, sinecures etc. was quite considerable.¹⁷ In most returns and lists the Clements family are noted as might be expected as being pro Government. The voting in the county was open and on a restricted electoral roll. Nevertheless the elections were often quite hectic. Montgomery, though an in-law of the Clements family voted independently, generally against the Government, though sharing the penchant of so many to spend long stretches in London. He is recorded once as having "paired off" with Theophilus Clements,¹⁸ who was similarly inclined to travel.

Cavan was, as the Newry/Belturbet dichotomy might indicate, between two political worlds in some ways. Galway in 1779 led the way of non-importation agreements but the linen counties of the north fearing a counterblast from England against linen did not follow suit except for Cavan and Monaghan.¹⁹ On the other hand when "radicalism" was pushing for the repeal of Poyning's Law the Cavan meeting of 16 March 1780 (most of the Grand Jury being Volunteer officers) stopped short at an expression of gratitude for "Free Trade".²⁰

Bellamont in the House of Lords showed himself unvaryingly conservative. This was to be expected. His title was earned by his activities against the protestant peasant organisation, The Oakboys, in Co. Monaghan.²¹ In 1778 he spoke against the Bill for the relief of Catholics saying "it was only calculated to serve a few rich individuals" that "papists were being fostered in the bosom of Government" while "disrespect" was "shown to the Presbyterians". He condemned the Government for the loss of America, one of England's two best possessions; "now", he

¹⁶ *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ cf. Edith M. Johnston, "The State of the Irish House of Commons in 1791" in *PRIA*, vol. 59, Section C, no. 1, p. 20; M. Bodkin, "Notes on the Irish Parliament in 1773" in *PRIA*, vol. XLVIII, Section C, no. 4, p. 180; G. O. Sayles, "Contemporary Sketches of the Members of the Irish Parliament in 1782" in *PRIA*, vol. 56, Section C, no. 3, pp. 237/8; the Buckinghamshire list of 1780 cited by Edith M. Johnston in *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800*, p. 362; the Harcourt Almanac list of 1773 cited by Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 339 and 344; the 1795 Civil List in Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 309 and 315.

¹⁸ Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁹ Maurice R. O'Connell, *Irish Politics and Social Conflict in the Age of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1965), pp. 135/6.

²⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 25 April 1780. For discussion of its significance see O'Connell, *op. cit.*, pp. 226/7.

²¹ cf. James Connolly, *Labour in Irish History*, pp. 18/19 (Dublin 1956 edn.) and pamphlet of 1762 cited by him there.

charged, "they thought to destroy the other".²² On a later bill allowing Catholics to hold land in perpetuity he said that "if you give them landed property it must lead to official power". Laws "were the Guard to civil and religious laws of the State" and "the landed interest must influence elections".²³ Since the local lords had a big say, the direction of Cooke/Bellamont's influence is obvious.

1782 is the big year in volunteer history. The start of the onslaught on Poyning's Law can be said to have begun in Dungannon with the meeting of the Ulster units there on 15 February 1782 when they entered into their celebrated resolutions. Cavan was not represented among the 143 units present. Why is not clear, but it seems to reflect again the Clements/Montgomery opposition to each other. Ennery had written to the assembled delegates on behalf of the Co. Cavan corps "declaring their readiness to co-operate with their brother volunteers in every constitutional support of their rights". For this they were thanked and extended the right of associating "with the corps represented" and "to nominate four members to act with those already appointed as a committee by the delegates at this meeting".²⁴

Reactions in support of these resolutions began to pour out, mostly noted in paid insertions in the newspapers. The first from Cavan was a meeting in Cavan town on 13 March 1782 at which the statement of claims was clearly set forth in a resolution by Pallas and signed by Montgomery and Fleming.²⁵ The Rakenny Volunteers met on 12 April — Theophilus Clements in the chair — and admired and highly approved of the Dungannon resolution but saying that they disavowed as freeholders the address "signed James Fleming, importing to be the address of the County Cavan Electors".²⁶ On 24 April the County Volunteers were convened by Ennery, endorsed the resolutions and took up the invitation nominating Ennery, Stuart, Montgomery and Clements to represent the county at the national convention.²⁷ The Cavan County meeting was defended later against the

22 *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 August 1778. He was consistently anti-whig; cf. O'Connell, *op. cit.*, pp. 197/8.

23 *op. cit.*, 4 May 1782.

24 Resolutions of the delegates as reported in the *Dublin Evening Post*, 26 February 1782.

25 This is the text given pp. 52/3 in C. H. Wilson, *A Compleat Collection of the Resolutions of the Volunteers, Grand Juries, &c. of Ireland, which followed the celebrated resolves of the First Dungannon Diet*, vol. 1, Dublin, 1782. For circumstances of meeting see letter by "John Telltruth" in *DEP*, 18 May 1782.

26 *DEP*, 30 April 1782.

27 *ibid.*

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Rakenny resolutions by a letter to the papers over the signature of "John Telltruth".²⁸

On 8 May the Cavan Independent Volunteers addressed Henry Grattan inveighing against parliamentary corruption and looking to a "speedy reduction of the mercenary banditti, Placemen and Pensioners, those vermin of the Constitution".²⁹ Grattan gracefully replied. Cavan was now by and large in line with the reformist tendencies abroad.³⁰

The Dungannon Convention of 8 September 1783 pressed for Parliamentary reform. Cavan representatives from it to the National Convention on 10 November were Lord Farnham, Maxwell, Saunderson, Montgomery and H. Clements — though Cavan was only represented at the meeting by representatives of 4 corps — the smallest number from any county in Ulster.³¹ However when the Commons divided on 29 November 1783 on Flood's bill, "For the More Equal Representation on the People in Parliament," Stewart and Montgomery the elected representatives of the County voted for the defeated bill while Latouche, Smith, Clements and Nesbit of the rotten boroughs opposed it³² — Maxwell had been defeated in the previous election, taking his defeat badly.³³

By July 1783 the Cavan Volunteers seem to have been sinking into decline. Their military purpose was gone with the peace with America. A government report of 1784 on the state of the Volunteers says in relation to Cavan "There have been no new Volunteer Corps raised in this district two or three years past — and even these corps have not been assembled either separate or in a Body since the Month of July 1783. Report says that they put up their arms and will not turn out any more". The reputed strengths are given in the return as follows:

Cavan Infantry Mr. B. Maxwell 70
 Belturbet do. Mr. Saunderson 46
 Ballyhays do. Mr. Newburgh 60
 Cootehill do. Mr. Meade 50
 Ashfield do. Mr. Theo Clements M.P. 60
 Killeshandra do. Capt. Young 60
 Ballyconnell do. Mr. Geo. Montgomery M.P. 80
 Ballyborough do. Mr. Stewart M.P. 100
 Swanlingbar do. Mr. Ennery 40

²⁸ DEP, 5 May 1782.

²⁹ Newspaper cuttings file NMI 6-1935.

³⁰ cf. also the anti-Poynings note of the address to Maxwell and Montgomery in DEP, 19 March 1782.

³¹ Newspaper cuttings file NMI 6-1935.

³² *Belfast News Letter*, 2-5 December 1783.

³³ See his paid insertion dated 8 September 1783 in the papers. (Newspaper cuttings file NMI 6-1935).

giving a total of 566 for the county. The geography in this report is not always accurate; under "Louth and Downe" there is a note "another Corps of Roman Catholics is likewise said to be lately raised at a small Town called Shircock".³⁴

After this there are a couple of scattered references. A note from Monaghan on 21 January 1785 says "On the 11th Instant was escorted into Bailieborough by a number of the Volunteers, a cannon, a 20 pounder, for the use of the corps; it was purchased in Dublin by a private, (James Reilly, mathematician), which shews a spirit and attachment to the cause, not to be equalled by any within our knowledge."³⁵ This is the only instance of volunteer artillery in the county that I have come across but it seems to have been the product of private and personal enthusiasm.

By and large what kept the units in operation at this stage seems to have been political agitation and Whiteboy type activities. Cavan was then comparatively free from both.³⁶ The last notice of Volunteering in the county may indicate in the use of "beat to arms" that the corps was not normally assembling. The occurrence was late in 1788 and described the arrival of Brockhill Newburgh "to take possession of the family property" at Ballyhaise, when "the Volunteers beat to arms, and paraded fully accoutred" and in Cavan town "drew up in the market place, and fired three vollies in honour of their esteemed commander".³⁷ These seemingly were the last shots fired by the Volunteers of County Cavan.

The Volunteers were finally put down by government decrees in 1793. The establishment they had made was quick to ignore them and to encourage and accelerate their demise. In 1782 an attempt had been made to outflank them by the creation of new Provincial or Fencible regiments which the Volunteers by and large opposed. The French Revolution was having its effects in Ireland, markedly in the Volunteer units of Dublin and Belfast, in the spread of the United Irishmen and of democratic, reformist and republican ideas. The failures of Grattan's parliament to reform exacerbated existing discontent. The Defenders spread widely, and more dangerous from an establishment point view, could be seen to be coming under United Irish influence. War again was in the offing — revolutionary France was messianic.

34 Ms. headed "Secret / Returns of Volunteer Corps / with private observations". NMI (22A-1938).

35 Newspaper cuttings file, NMI 6-1935.

36 cf. also the address of the Grand Jury thanking Lord Granard for his exertions against the "nocturnal assassins". *DEP*, 1 April 1779.

37 Newspaper cuttings file NMI 6-1935.

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A strong auxiliary force under Governmental control was needed and was obtained in the force created by the Militia Act of 1793. Coote/Bellamont was designated Colonel for Cavan but while the county had the order to embody on 25 April 1793 the original meeting to arrange the ballot was surrounded by 900 armed persons. The result seems to have been that the Cavan militia was not finally embodied until March 1794 — after the House of Lords had requested the Lord Lieutenant to order those counties who had not embodied to be “embodied forthwith”. The only other county as recalcitrant then was Kildare.³⁸ The reasons for this overawing of the balloting meeting I cannot decipher: it may have been a backlash of Coote’s harrying of the Oakboys. More likely is it that it was an attempt to ensure that the Cavan Militia would be a protestant unit like those of Monaghan, Armagh and Fermanagh.³⁹

Coote was replaced as Colonel by Maxwell in 1797.⁴⁰ The names of the officers are Hodson, Adams, Pallace, Caulfield, Burrowes, Cooke, Rice, Murphy, Baker, Reynell, Armstrong, Stephens, Spear and Smith in the 1795 list. Later names in the succeeding lists are Molesworth, Colclough, Cosby, Nesbitt, Mac Naghten, Moore, Robinson, Pratt, Woodward, Knipe, Hill, Kerr, Dawson, Fleming, Palliser, Baxter, Thompson, Mee, O’Reilly, Levinge, Clandinnan, Joyce, Harrison.⁴¹ The only familiar surnames from the Volunteer officers are Moore, Dawson, Fleming, Pallas (Pallace) and Maxwell. From earlier militia lists⁴² the following surnames echo Baker,⁴³ Cosby,⁴⁴ Burrowes,⁴⁵ Pratt,⁴⁶ Maxwell,⁴⁷ Knipe,⁴⁸ Moore,⁴⁹ Mee,⁵⁰ Reilly,⁵¹ Spear,⁵² Thompson,⁵³ Nes-

38 H. McAnally, *The Irish Militia 1793-1816*, p. 53 (Dublin, 1949).

39 Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836* (London, 1966), pp. 71/2, cf. also Venner 1835 evidence (*Hansard* 3, XXX, 281) as cited by Senior, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

40 Lists of officers of militia units were regularly published and the succession of officers can thus be readily followed.

41 1797, 1798, 1799 and 1800 lists.

42 See footnotes 6 and 12 above.

43 1659/60, 1702, 1715, 1756.

44 1702, 1708, 1715, 1727/8.

45 1702, 1715, 1745, 1756.

46 1708, 1715, 1745.

47 1715, 1727/8.

48 1715, 1756.

49 1702, 1715, 1727/8, 1756.

50 1725, 1756.

51 1725.

52 1728.

53 1715, 1727/8, 1756.

bitt,⁵⁴ Stephens,⁵⁵ Adams,⁵⁶ Fleming,⁵⁷ Smith,⁵⁸ and Levinge.⁵⁹ More than half of the surnames therefore are familiar.

The militia seldom served in the county of its embodiment. The Cavan militia was in action in 1798 at Arklow and at Vinegar Hill⁶⁰ and indeed proved one of the most reliable of the militia regiments in those encounters although late in 1798 deserters to the United men from the regiment were still being picked up.^{60a} Before going into action they proved recalcitrant once more. When Lake initiated a campaign for the disarming of Ulster the Cavan militia are reported as taking whiskey instead of arms⁶¹ — no doubt because the bulk of the arms in the County were in the possession of their fellow Orangemen and/or Protestant Loyalists.

Venner in his evidence in 1835 said that the Cavan militia moved by forced marches to Dublin during the rebellion.⁶² It was from Dublin they went: on 4 June in "about 30 noddies, the like number of jaunting cars and about 12 or 14 coaches . . . pressed for their conveyance"⁶³ and on 7 June in "near ninety coaches and curicles . . . impressed for this essential purpose, among them some carriages belonging to the gentry."⁶⁴ Their anxiety as part of the emergency effort to reinforce Needham at Arklow may have been increased by the realisation that their commander had a seat near the Carlow/Wexford border town of Bunclody (Newtownbarry). They were among the few militia units included among the "moveable" troops in an 1801 defence scheme⁶⁵ and in 1803 (which is probably the occasion Venner refers to⁶⁶) they "were the first called upon . . . to defend the metropolis".⁶⁷

What is more interesting is that not only were Cavan one of the few completely Protestant militia battalions but they were also practically entirely an Orange one. Representatives of the

54 1727/8, 1756.

55 1756.

56 1745.

57 1702, 1708, 1715, 1745.

58 1715, 1725.

59 (Layng) 1715.

60 McAnally, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

60a H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley, *The War in Wexford*, London & New York, 1910, p. 238.

61 *Northern Star*, 3 April 1797.

62 *Hansard* 3, XXX, 281.

63 *DEP*, 5 June 1798.

64 *Saunders's Journal*, 8 June 1798.

65 McAnally, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

66 see f.n. 62.

67 McAnally, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

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68 O.
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Cavan militia lodges took part in the Dublin meeting of 8 March 1798 called to launch the Orange movement on a national basis.⁶⁸ There were in fact two lodges working in the Cavan Regiment of about 350 men in 6 coys. According to the Grand Lodge Register of 8 March 1798⁶⁹ these were lodges 154 (with 15 members) and 177 (with 284 members). Warrants for these were issued to Capt. Wm Moore (a recurring surname in our lists) and Major Molesworth respectively. Lord Farnham, their colonel, was also an Orangeman.⁷⁰

But with Defenderism spreading, the effects of the French Revolution multiplying, the continued failure of the Irish Parliament to reform itself, the wars of the French Republic and the possibility of invasion, the need for security went beyond that which the standing army and the militia could supply. When the United Irishmen began to take over the Defenders giving to their inchoate agitation a political philosophy and a broader prospect, many of the liberal protestant middle class who had been inspired by reformist or republican ideas were lost to the new nationalism. The old Ballymascanlan Volunteers of Louth, for example, were a Masonic Lodge, later a club of United Irishmen and finally an Orange Lodge.⁷¹ In some places such a transformation was not necessary. In Loughall for example Orange Lodge No. 161 used the old Volunteer flag of the area in their Boyne commemoration.⁷² Defenderism in Cavan had become strong and by 1792 had forced down rents and made tithe collecting difficult.⁷³ The reaction of the Loyalists to the United Irishmen was volunteering for service in the Yeomanry: embodied, as local forces, by the Government in 1796. The reaction to the Defenders of many Anglicans (more so than Presbyterians) was the Orange Order founded in 1795. In many instances the Yeomanry corps and Orange Lodges seem to have been identical. To what extent they were in fact identical in County Cavan the following lists and the map may help to establish. The Yeomanry list, except where separately noted, is compiled from the published lists and is as follows

68 O. R. Gowan, *Orangeism : its origin and history* (Toronto, 1859), p. 91, as cited by Senior, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

69 Kindly extracted from the registers on my behalf by Mr A. McClelland, Ulster Folk Museum. Letters to me dated 4 April and 2 May 1968.

70 Senior, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

71 *ibid.*, p. 83.

72 R. M. Sibbett, *Orangeism in Ireland and Through the Empire* (Belfast, 1914), p. 268.

73 Senior, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Dates of occurrence on lists</i>	<i>Officers</i>
Ashfield Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	Henry Clements, J. Moore, Boyle.
Ashfield (Infantry)	1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	J. W. Keatinge, Wm. Wright, Whitely (Jos. & H.), H. Clements, Jos. Welsh, E. Ledbetter, Jas. Boyde, J. Higginbottam, Jas. Elliott.
Bailieboro Infantry	1820, 1825.	Sir Wm. Young, John Young, P. Cosby, A. Sadlier, E. Mahaffy & Gibson.
Ballintemple Corps (Infantry)	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	A. Fleming, C. Beatty, T. Burrows.
Ballyconnel(l) Infantry	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	N. Sneyd, E. Whitely, J. Storey, T. Veaitch, J. Benison.
Ballyconnell Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	N. Sneyd, A. Faris and Parrott Thornton.
Ballyhaise Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	J. H. Cottingham, W. Elliott, F. Marguerin, J. M'Ilree, J. Baker.
Ballyhaise (Yeoman) Infantry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	S. and J. Swanzy, J. Smyth, R. Griffith.
Ballyjamesduff Cavalry	1797.	
Ballyduff Infantry 1st Co.	1820, 1825, 1831.	Farnham, J. Maguire, R. Fox, C. Kellett, J. Ken- nedy.
Ballyduff Infantry 2nd Co.	1820, 1825.	J. Bleakley, D. Kellett, & J. Fleming.
1st Ballyjamesduff Infantry	1803, 1804.	Farnham.
2nd Ballyjamesduff Infantry	1803, 1804.	Farnham.
Ballyjamesduff Infantry	1797, 1798.	J. Tatlow.
Ballyjamesduff Infantry	1805, 1807.	J. Blakely, D. Kellett & J. Fleming.

	Unit	Dates of occurrence on lists	Officers
s, J.	Ballyjamesduff Infantry ⁷⁴	1798, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	J. Elliott, Farnham, R. Blakely, C. Kellett.
, Wm.	Ballymacue Infantry	1798. ⁷⁵	
(Jos. & s, Jos. er, Jas bottam,	Ballymacue Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	C. Pallis, A. Ball, W. Johnson, J. McDonell.
	Belturbet Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	J. M. Jones, H. Withers, J. Jones.
, John oy, A. aff &	Belturbet Infantry	1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	T. Fanner Snr. & Jnr., H. & W. Gumley, W. Clarke, G. Knipe, W. Reynolds Snr. & Jnr., T. Finlay, J. Moffatt.
Beatty,	Belville Infantry	1812, 1820, 1825.	R. Fleming, J. Carmich- ael, W. Pollock.
ately, J. ch, J.	Castle Saunderson (Infantry)	1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	J. Saunderson, J. Elliott, J. Stafford, A. Saunder- son, J. Fleming.
ris and	Cavan Cavalry	1805, 1807.	J. H. & J. C. Cottingham.
n, W. erin, J.	Cavan (Infantry)	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	J. H. Cottingham, R. Armstrong, W. Erskine & J. Babington.
zy, J. l.	Cavan and Ballyhaise Infantry	1820, 1825.	J. Saunderson, Wm. Ers- kine & M. Beatty.
	Cavan and Ballyhaise Division	1820.	Wm. Humphreys, F. Marjuerin & J. McIlree.
ire, R. . Ken-	Clonmahon (Infantry)	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	O. Nugent, W. Gaven, C. O'Reilly & J. Max- well.
Kellett,	Clonmahon Cavalry	1797, 1798.	
	Cootehill (Infantry)	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	C. Coote, R. Dawson, M. Murphy, R. Coote, E. Coote, B. Brunker, J. Powell.
	Crossdonny Infantry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	T. Nesbitt, R. B. Booth, G. Carmichael, J. Young.

74 The Ballyduff and Ballyjamesduff infantry units are probably the same (i.e. there were probably 2 not more infantry units in Ballyjamesduff).

75 *Freeman's Journal*, 13 September 1798.

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Dates of occurrence on lists</i>	<i>Officers</i>
Crossdonny and Kilmore Infantry	1820, 1825.	T. & C. Nesbitt, R. B. & A. B. Booth, G. Carmichael.
Fortland (Infantry)	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	A. & H. Maxwell, G. & D. Lananze, C. Fetherstone, J. Barry, E. B. Ward, Ld. Farnham.
Killinkere (Infantry)	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	A. & P. Cosby, R. Cowan and E. Mahaffey.
Killinkere Cavalry	1797, 1798.	
Killishandra Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1800, ⁷⁶ 1807.	W. Faris, C. Veaitch, R. Anderson & F. Denham.
Killishandra (Infantry)	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	T. & J. A. Berry, A. Finlay.
1st Killishandra Infantry	1820, 1825.	W. Fares, J. Galbraith, J. & F. Denham, A. Berry & R. Anderson.
2nd Killishandra Infantry	1820, 1825.	R. H. Southwell, A. Finlay, J. & J. Ferguson, W. Givin & W. Irwin.
Killigar and Hackwood Infantry ⁷⁷	1811, 1820, 1825.	J. Godley, T. Berry, G. Carson & G. Crawford.
Kilmore Infantry ⁷⁸	1798.	
Kilmore Cavalry	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	C. Bredin, J. Black & J. Veaitch.
King's Court Cavalry	1797, 1798.	
King's Court (Infantry) ⁷⁹	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	H. Foster, P. Ward, J. & M. Pratt, W. Bermingham, W. Shiels & Arthur Gorge.
Largay (Infantry)	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	R. & O. Saunders, A. & W. Moffatt, J. Bracker.

76 Paid "for bringing up Matthew Tone" in 1798, to Capt. W. Harris £20-6-3. R. R. Madden, *The United Irishmen*, 3rd Series, vol. 1, Dublin, 1846, p. 112

77 One of the few instances of a cross border unit. The 1811 note refers to the dates of some of the commissions.

78 see f.n. 75.

79 Their arms were lodged in store finally in 1833.

B. & Car-	Loyal Castlehamilton Rangers	1798.	
G. & Fether-	Rakenny Infantry	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	Capt. Lucas, G. Moore, T. Higginbotham, J. Baker, H. J. & T. J. Clements.
E. B. m.	Redhills Cavalry	1797, 1798.	
Cowan	Redhills (Infantry)	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	F. White, Snr. & Jnr., J. Francis, R. Tighe, J. Saunderson & G. Walsh.
ch, R. nham.	Scrabby (Infantry)	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	A. Bell, J. Pollock, R. B. Clarke & J. Wilson.
A. Fin-	Shercock Infantry	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	A. Cosby, T. Wright, W. Wimp, S. & J. Adams, A. Ruxton, J. Wallace.
raith, Ber-	Swanlinbar (Infantry)	1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807, 1820, 1825.	H. Gresson (Gusson), J. & W. Betty, G. Coch-rane, N. Montgomery & G. Winston.
. Fin- n, W.	Tullyhunca (Infantry)	1797, 1798, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	T. A., Robt., & Richd. Clandillon.

Among the supplementary units, generally serving without pay and without uniform, were

Cabra Castle Supple-mentary Volunteers	1804, 1807.	Jos. & Jas, Pratt.
& J. King's Court supple-mentary Yeomanry	1803, 1804, 1805, 1807.	H. Foster.

The total yeomanry strength in 1803 in Co. Cavan was 2505⁸⁰. It is clear therefore the extent to which the old Volunteers are not the Yeomanry; that is to say the Yeomanry are not simply the old Volunteers reconstituted. But it is also clear from the map that the Volunteers were absorbed into the new organisation. The main exception to this is Bawnboy where there is no yeomanry unit and whence the Ennery family does not figure in the yeomanry officer lists. Farnham and Kilmore⁸¹ do not appear but the names Elliott and Carmichael figure among the Belville, Crossdonny and Kilmore, Castle Saunderson, and Ballyhaise units. C. Bredin was in the Kilmore Cavalry. Among the

⁸⁰ 1803 list.

⁸¹ There may be an error on the map between the two Kilmores Nos. 32 and 51.

other officers the name Young recurs in the Crossdonny Infantry while the senior Newburgh had died without issue before 1796. Bawnboy and Ennery would seem therefore to be the only exceptions to the rule that the Volunteers were absorbed, almost in toto, into the Yeomanry corps. The continuity of militia/yeomanry service is also obvious from a study of the surnames in all lists.

The 1798 Rising seems to have had little repercussions in terms of war in Cavan. The only account I noted was that at Granard on 5 September 1798 a force of United Irishmen under Captain O'Connell, who was killed, and officers Miles O'Reilly, Hans and Alexander Deniston — chiefly, it is said, from Longford and Westmeath — were defeated when

the Garrison, consisting of the Granard and Bellymecue (sic) Cavalry, detachments of the Cavan, Ballintemple, and Kilmore infantry; under the command of Capt. Cottingham, and the Ballymacue infantry under the command of Captain Pallas, marched out to meet them.⁸²

Next list is the list of Orange Lodges obtaining in County Cavan in 1798 :

<i>L.O.L.</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Warrant issued to</i>	<i>Members</i>
154	Cavan Regt.	Capt. Wm. Moore	15
177	Cavan Regt.	Maj. Molesworth	284
193	Cotehill	Jos. Hughes	53
212	Drumalee	Ab. Pratt	87
223	Cavan Town	Wm. Scott	
261	Drumcolpin	J. Jones	34
	(recte Drumcalpin)		
281	Ballyhaise	R. Nesbitt	
282	Latchy	J. Montgomery	
	(recte Latsey)		
302	Rakenny	Jas. McKnight	
307	Killeshandra	W. Jackson	
308	Arvagh	G. Bigger	
331	Portlongfield	J. Bleakly	34
332	Drumrockedy	(illegible)	50
	(recte Drumrockady)		
343	Ashfield	J. Clark	
344	Killa	E. Bennet	70
348	Belturbet	Jos. Reynolds	90
378	Drummault	Rob. Elliott	46
	(recte Drumalt)		
393	Bawnboy	J. Stephenson	60
394	Cap(p)agh	Wm. McClelland	70
398	Ballyconnell	Graham	70

⁸² *Freeman's Journal*, 13 September 1798.

	L.O.L.	Location	Warrant issued to	Members
pantry				
1796.	418	Scrabby	R. Cooke	30
ly ex-	419	Kilgolagh	A. Bell	
almost	425	Swanlinbar	Jas. Mahon	50
a/yeo-	435	Billis	T. Wilson	
nes in	451	Corraboy	J. Whiteley	
		(recte Corboy Glebe)		
ons in		Curcramp		
hat at		(recte Corcraft) ⁸³		
under	534	Drumaloore	Wm. Dunn	
Reilly,		(recte Drumalure More)		
Long-	567	Kingscourt	Jos. Pratt	
	593	Pottlebuoy	Wm. Read	
		(recte Pottleboy)		
Belly-	605	Butlersbridge	John Jones	
Cavan,	606	Drumalure (Beg)	Wm. Dunn	
e com-	608	Ballyduft	John Tatlow	
ue in-		(recte Ballyjamesduff)		
Pallas,	607	Drumheriff(e)	Wm. Patterson	
	611	Mulylogher	Daniel Beck	
		(recte Mullalougher)		
ounty	615	Sugarloaf	R. Williams	
	641	Drumhall	A. Bell	
	653	Clonegal		
		(recte Clonagonnell)		

embers

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In addition Lodge 574 is listed under Co. Cavan in 1798. It was in fact in Carrickmacross under the mastership of Rev. A. N. Adams.⁸⁴ Finally among the members of the Dublin elite lodge No. 176 were Major Molesworth, Rev. Mervyn Pratt, Nathaniel Sneyd, Lt Col. Joseph Pratt, Viscount Corry (later Earl of Belmore) of Cavan interest with perhaps the Trim clergyman Rev. Wm. Elliott.⁸⁵

Attempting now to relate the Orange Order in the county to the Yeomanry corps is rather difficult. As the map indicates there are localities where one or other exists alone. For example there are no Yeomanry units based on Bawnboy, Corboy, Drum-

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⁸³ One of the Clements proposed that a lodge be formed there. A name King is also listed but no warrant number has been traced. The note refers to 19 April 1798.

⁸⁴ see f.n. 69. Sibbett, *op. cit.*, p. 261 mentions lodges 56 and 179 being at Bailieborough in the early years of the order. In 1798 the warrant for lodge 56 was not issued and 179 was working at Rockcorry, Co. Monaghan. It is obvious that Sibbett knew little about Cavan in the early days of the order. His information possibly refers to 1835 when e.g. lodge 56 was working in Bailieborough with James Ray or Robt. Argue as master. In 1798 therefore there was no Orange lodge in Bailieborough.

⁸⁵ Sibbett, *op. cit.*, pp. 263/4. Lodge 176 minutes, p. 2, Ulster Folk Museum. List of Members of Lodge 176, Ms. 5398 NLI.

heriff, Arvagh, Drumalt, Butlersbridge, Drumalure More, Drumalure Beg, Drumrockady, Kilgolagh, Drumcalpin, Mullalougher, Killa and Latsey. In all these there are Orange Lodges. On the other hand Shercock, Cabra Castle, Killinkere, Ballymacue, Fortland, Ballintemple, Castlesaunderson, Redhill and Clanmahon are areas where there are Yeomanry corps but no Orange lodges. However, the Pratt family who commanded the Cabra Castle unit numbered Orangemen in their ranks at Kingscourt, Drumalee, and Dublin.

Beyond the map distribution nothing much extra can be suggested. The Tatlow of 608 and of the Ballyjamesduff Infantry is probably the same man; there is a Reynolds in both lodge 348 and in the Belturbet infantry and the Whiteleys of the Ballyconnell Infantry and lodge 451 are probably related.

Lord Farnham was, as we saw, an Orangeman and though there is no lodge near Fortland he had an interest in the Yeomanry unit there, as he had in the Ballyjamesduff units also. The Adams officers of the Shercock Infantry may be related to the master of lodge 574 in Carrickmacross. There is an Elliott in the Dublin elite lodge and in the Ballyhaise cavalry.

This may well suggest that the Orange order is to be found more among the non-commissioned officers and privates in the Yeomanry units, and one does find contiguous lodges and corps at Kingscourt, Ballyjamesduff, Scrabby, Cootehill, Rakenny, Ashfield, Ballyhaise, Ballyconnell, Belturbet, Killeshandra, Cavan and Swanlinbar. Others are sufficiently close to render it probable that membership overlapped: Drumheel for instance in relation to Crossdonny and Belville; Cappagh to Hackwood; and Portlongfield to Tullyhunco.

But one does note the recurrence of lodges where there are no corps: this may indicate a frontier mentality of banding together for protection where none is officially on offer.

Should full lists of members of both organisations have survived much more definite conclusions could be made. Meantime it may be suggested that Sibbett's equation "the Yeomen were Orangemen"⁸⁶ does not seem to be absolute for Cavan and one does note constant references, e.g. by Knox, to the envisaged use of armed Orangemen as supplementaries,⁸⁷ thus indicating again that Sibbett's equation is too simple. Senior's suggestion⁸⁸ that "the volunteers were, in a sense, the progenitor of both the United Irishmen and the Orange movement" is also in need of modification as far as Cavan is concerned.

It is obvious that at a local level in Cavan through genealogy; plotting the distribution of Anglicans and Presbyterians

86 *ibid.*, p. 254.

87 cf. Senior, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67, 69, 70.

88 *op. cit.*, p. 6.

in the county; family history; parish, corps, and lodge registers and minute books; with possible surviving documentation and relics in the older families, the picture presented here could be both filled out and clarified. I hope this will be done.

Acknowledgments

In the first place my sincere gratitude to Mr Aiken McClelland without whose assistance the section on the Orange Order would have been slight, sketchy and very inaccurate. Next I should like to thank Rev. C. Travers, Gerard Slevin (Chief Herald), Dónal Ó Luanaigh of the Genealogical Office and Edward Keane of the National Library for their continued assistance.

NOTICES TO BUILDERS

Proposals for the erection of a new chapel in Glan will be received by the Rev. Hugh Magauran, P.P., and his committee. Dated, Glan, 6th June:

— *Anglo-Celt*, 7 June 1855.

Arva chapel committee give notice that two additions to the chapel are needed. Up to 1849 the only place for Mass there was a loft over a stable in a backyard. Then a small chapel was erected. Signed : John O'Reilly, P.P., Francis O'Brien, Hon. Sec.

— *Anglo-Celt*, 4 October 1855.

Proposals will be received by the Committee for the ceiling and plastering of the R.C. chapel at Ballyconnell according to the plan and specifications to be seen at the residence of the Rev. Mr O'Reilly, C.C. Tenders will be received up to the 1st April next. Ballyconnell, 15 March 1855.

— *Anglo-Celt*, 22 March 1855

It is intended to erect a belfry in the form of a Round Tower at the Upper Chapel in Crosserlough. Tenders will be received by the Rev. Mr Lynch.

— *Anglo-Celt*, 14 June 1855

The Changing Rural Landscape of North Leitrim from Mid-Seventeenth Century to Mid-Nineteenth Century

by

Séamus Grimes

County Leitrim was planted in the 1620s and the English Government stated that in order that the plantation be successful, "being made acquainted with the conditions of the people as well as of the soil of county Leitrim, we have in our wisdom thought it necessary to assign to some few men of especial qualities, larger quantities than we have heretofore done".¹ So they assigned "several portions of profitable land consisting of 1,000, 800, 600, 500, 400, 300 and 200 acres apiece". They also considered that "it would sooner civilize the people and keep them from their private meeting to have undertakers mixed amongst them rather than to be designed to any place by themselves".²

One of the people to benefit greatly by the plantation of Leitrim was Sir Frederick Hamilton, a Scotch Presbyterian, who received two quarters of land in the present Manorhamilton area, which consisted of 5,279 acres.³ Unfortunately for his planter neighbours, Hamilton spent the period from 1620 to 1641 making attempts to extend the boundary of his estate and by 1630 it consisted of 6,307 acres of arable land and 10,650 acres of bog and waste. He made his lands into a manor and founded the present town of Manorhamilton sometime before 1641. He had a castle erected beside the town with a bawn surrounding it. In 1630 he got permission to hold a market every Tuesday and three fairs annually.⁴

Apparently Hamilton had both Irish and British tenants on his lands and he also kept some of the land for his own use because one source tells us that "the Colonel causeth his troop horses to be made ready daily and to fall to ploughing and

1 Ms. 10,422 (National Lib.). Alice Stopford Green. Papers : Notes and text by A. S. Green and F. J. Bigger.

2 *ibid.*

3 An t-Athair Domhnall Mac an Ghalloglaigh, 'Sir Frederick Hamilton', *Breifne*, 1967, p. 59.

4 *ibid.* 59-60.

sowing".⁵ Hamilton was also in charge of a garrison stationed in Manorhamilton during the rebellion of 1641 and Manorhamilton was the main target for the Irish attacks. Hamilton carried out a series of night raids on the surrounding countryside and brought scores of cattle, goats, sheep and horses back to the castle, while "our women and boys being loaded with corn". We are told that by June 1642 "that this concluded the burning of all the houses and corn within a six mile radius of the castle". On 25 January of the same year, the rebels "seized 400 to 500 of Hamilton's cows and burned much of his winter supply of corn" and on 30 January they "burned the town and its two mills" so that Hamilton had to take the inhabitants within the walls of his castle.⁶

One of his expeditions set out for Glenade which was "six miles from the castle and where many and fair Irish houses with neither man or beast near them".⁷ It is obvious that Hamilton by his intensive plundering had devastated the whole countryside of North Leitrim.

It is likely that there was a large extent of woodland in the area at this time and one source tells about "Glenfarne woods" and also about a party that set out for "a wood-land mountain country, which was ten miles from our castle" where they destroyed a "house belonging to the great lord of that country Mac A Naue" (i.e. in the Drumkeeran area).⁸ It would also seem evident that there was little enclosure of land in the region at this time, for "O'Rourke became so confident that he brought his cattle to graze within two miles of Hamilton's castle" and again "Sir Robert Parke of Newtown, who had a garrison in his castle near Lough Gill allowed Brian Ballogh O'Rourke's cows to graze up to the walls of his castle, with only a few cowherds guarding them". The same situation existed at Hamilton's castle where "the rebels lay in ambush all night hoping to seize Hamilton's cows in the morning when they were driven to pasture". By Easter he had no hay for his horses and was forced to put them to graze within two miles of the castle, guarded by fifty men."⁹

It is evident from the few short details, quoted above, that life in the first half of the seventeenth century was a fast changing one for the inhabitants of North Leitrim. One of the most significant changes was in the ownership of land and different records tell us that the English Protestants had almost complete

5 Joly Pamphlets, National Library of Ireland. A. 2095, published 1645.

6 *ibid.*

7 *ibid.*

8 *ibid.*

9 *Breifne*, 1967, loc. cit. pp. 75-77.

ownership of the lands in this area. The 'Books of Distribution and Survey' for Leitrim give us the land owners in this area during the years 1625 to 1637. One of the biggest landlords, apart from Hamilton, was Sir George Villiers, who owned lands in the parishes of Drumlease, Killanummery, Killargue, and Cloonclare, i.e. the area between Lough Gill and Manorhamilton. Thomas Abercromby, another Englishman owned the village of Lurganboy, which is north-west of Manorhamilton and he had 900 acres of land in that district. Robert Parke of Newtown Castle, which was north of Lough Gill had about 1,000 acres in mortgage from Con O'Rourke "an Irish papist".¹⁰

It would seem likely that the coming of the landlord's era to North Leitrim saw a consequent extension of the cultivated land. In Arthur Young's time (1776-1779) the work of extending the area of improved land was in full progress and he tells us that in Leitrim "the county evidently increases in population and that the waste mountains are improving very fast, by families hiring spots of heath, building their cabins on them and improving them".¹¹ Young tells us that the general size of holdings in county Leitrim at this time was 100 acres and that some were up to five or six thousand acres. He also mentions that there were many small ones and that rundale was common. As regards the holdings of land he says "the great part of the county is let to tenants who do not occupy but re-let at advanced rents to the poor people".¹²

For the year 1797 we have a good description of an estate in North Leitrim and a series of maps of the different farms on it.¹³ The estate belonged to Nicholas Loftus Tottenham and it was divided into two portions, one lying in the Kiltyclogher-Lake Macnean area and consisting of 6,387 acres and the other located in Glenade valley and consisting of 2,262 acres. The estate seems to have been divided into farms on a townland basis and consequently were often 100-200 acres in size. It is evident from the names of the landholders, such as Johnston, Hamilton, Whitacre, Hasaard, etc., that the majority of them, if not all, were Protestants. The description of Castleveel Townland farm, which was 175 acres is as follows — "this farm is much improved, being very rocky limestone ground, has a farmhouse on it; the lower part of it is good fattening ground". Unfortunately, the estate book does not give us any information as to how these lands were worked, but one interesting fact, which it does re-

10 'Books of Distribution and Survey', in Public Records Office.

11 Young, Arthur, 'A Tour in Ireland 1776-1779', London, p. 213.

12 *ibid.*, p. 212.

13 Ms. 9837. F. S. Bourke Collection. Maps (26) of the estate of Nicholas Loftus Tottenham in Leitrim. 1797. (names of tenants and description of the farms).

veal to us concerning a farm in Bolibuooy Townland (465 acres), is that it had "a great number of Protestant freeholders on it". It would seem then, that Young was correct in stating that "the land is let to tenants who do not occupy but re-let it at advanced rents to the poor people".¹⁴

It would seem likely that in this particular area of North Leitrim, i.e. from Kiltyclogher to Glenfarne and around that mountainous district to the east of Manorhamilton, that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the opening up of these lands to extensive development and reclamation. The whole emphasis throughout the estate book mentioned above is on the availability of limestone in the area and of turf to burn it with, in order to reclaim the mountain slopes. At the time of this estate (1797) a new road was being made between the mountains of Dough and Thur linking Kiltyclogher with the Manorhamilton-Enniskillen road and many of the farms on this estate are advertised as being of greater value due to this development.

AN IN-MIGRATION OF DISPLACED PEOPLES

On examining the personal names of North Leitrim today it is clear that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw an inward migration of colonists and displaced peoples into this region. The native Irish names of North Leitrim previous to the beginning of the seventeenth century were O'Rourke, MacClancy, MacKinnaue [MacConshnámhá], O'Meehan, McMorro (which was pronounced — and locally even yet sometimes — McMorry), and MacGoldrick. The O'Rourkes were the ruling family of the former kingdom of Breifne of which North Leitrim formed a part; MacClancy was the ancient tribal sept from Dartry in the north of the region and the MacKinnaues, which became Forde after anglicisation, belonged to the Lough Allen area; the O'Meehans, who gave the name to Ballaghameehan which lies between Manorhamilton and Rosinver, migrated from South Munster to this area before the eleventh century; the MacGoldricks were a sept of some consequence in and around that part of the region which adjoins Co. Fermanagh.¹⁵

However, when we examine the present day collection of personal names of North Leitrim, we see that there has been a great migration of peoples into this region. The ten most prominent names in the area today are : Rooney, McGowan, Kelly, McMorro, Clancy, Connolly, McTiernan, McGloin, Feely and

¹⁴ Young, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁵ MacLysaght, E., *Irish Families*, Galway and Dublin 1960, pp. 259, 79-80, 224, 123.

Dolan.¹⁶ The most significant migration seems to have occurred from Ulster. Numerous northern families were displaced by the Plantation of Ulster and some of these came to settle in North Leitrim. Again there was a great upheaval after the famous Diamond Fight in Armagh in 1795 and many of these displaced families settled in Leitrim.¹⁷ Often they became indistinguishable from a native family of the same name.

Rooneys came from Dromore, co. Down, and became identified with an old Leitrim family, O Rooneen. (Local pronunciation of Rooney is still very often Rooneen.) The McGowans came from co. Down via Donegal and are not to be confused with the O Gowans or Smiths of Cavan, though Cavan may have been the locus originis of the Down sept. The Kellys are thought to belong to the Templeboy sept in co. Sligo; the Connollys are a branch of the Fermanagh Connollys; the McTiernans, a sept descended from Tiernan O Connor, King of Connacht are not to be confused with the McKiernan family of Tullyhunco, co. Cavan, which was a branch of the O Rourkes; McGloins came from Tyrone and Donegal,¹⁸ but there was also a Leitrim family of the name in the Rossinver area; the Feelys, whom O'Hart finds to have the same ancestor, Ficheallach, grandson of Muredach Mulleathan (who is no. 97 on the Connacht O Connor pedigree), as the Fehillys of Cork,¹⁹ seem to have been long settled in Leitrim. The 1659 Census records five families of the name in the baronies of Dromahaire and Rossclogher.²⁰ It is unlikely that they came from Cork with O Sullivan Beare, as is sometimes said; the Dolans were prominent in Tullyhaw in West Cavan in 1664;²¹ there are eighteen families mentioned in the barony — ten of them out of a total of thirty six families in the part of Killinagh parish that is given. McCanns and McGreals also came in at this time, Gormleys who sometimes became Grahams, Devaneys, McHughs, Loughlins and McLoughlins.²²

Freeman says of this period that "the steady increase of population was due partly to the willingness of landlords to divide their property into small holdings from 1793, when an

16 This is based on an examination of the list of registered voters for the region.

17 B. Tohall, *The Diamond Fight of 1795 and the Resultant Expulsions*, *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, III, no. 1, pp. 17 sq.

18 MacLysaght, op. cit., pp. 258, 122-3, 164, 195, 87-8.

19 O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, I, p. 448.

20 Pender, *Census of Ireland c. 1659*, p. 569.

21 cf. *The Hearth Money Rolls (Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco)*, *Breifne*, I, no. 3, (1960), pp. 247-62; MacLysaght, op. cit., p. 118.

22 Tohall, loc. cit., p. 33. In south Leitrim, Guckians, McCartans and McGoohans settled. But here again there were McCartan families living in the seventeenth century. cf. *The 1641 Depositions for co. Leitrim*.

electoral law was introduced by which all occupiers owning or renting holdings valued at 40/- or more were given the vote; the landlords divided the grazing ranches into small farms thereby increasing their rents and political influence".²³ Prices of farm produce fell after the Napoleonic Wars and after 1816 landlords fought the sub-division of farms but without much success.²⁴

ENCLOSURE AND IMPROVEMENT

In 1802 Dr McParlan visited Leitrim and in regard to land holding he says that "farms are almost always held in common among a number of tenantry" and that they were about twenty, forty and fifty acres in size.²⁵ He also tells us that "the houses don't cluster together and though all the tenantry are in co-partnership, they build their houses asunder on separate parts of the same farm".²⁶ This situation of course, no longer exists in the landscape today, for every farm is owned by individual families. However, there does exist some remains of this former arrangement in the landscape such as in Glenade where a large meadow is held in common by seven owners. The only method each owner has for knowing the boundaries of his own division is by drawing an imaginary line between two landmarks that are well known to him. These could take the form of an ash tree growing in the ditch or a clump of rushes. As regards the size of fields and enclosures McParlan says that "as to any such regular divisions of fields or enclosures, as we see about Dublin and in England no such thing is to be met with in the county of Leitrim and that for even those who have a great deal of good lands for grazing, neglect this most laudable practice of dividing and enclosing, and it is only in a demesne of a few gentlemen that anything of the sort is to be seen".²⁷

Together with this late development of land enclosure on a large scale, we must bear in mind that the nineteenth century must have witnessed the greatest effort by man in this region to extend the boundary of improved land. In the Glenfarne district, "which was destitute of limestone, the whole county has got into so animated a spirit of improving and manuring that these districts ferry and cart the limestone from three to four

23 Freeman, T. W., *Pre-Famine Ireland*, Manchester, p. 15.

24 cf. Ó Mórdha, *Breifne*, II, no. 6 (1963), p. 156.

25 M'Parlan, James. *Statistical Survey of the County Leitrim*. Dublin 1802, p. 43.

26 *ibid.*, p. 62.

27 *ibid.*, p. 54.

miles".²⁸ Lewis tells us that in 1841 "farms of every size from four acres to 3,000 acres are to be met with, the larger principally in the mountainous districts and mostly under pasture with some enclosures near the dwelling houses."²⁹ It would seem that rapid subdivision and enclosing of holdings took place in the nineteenth century and the present minute size of fields are to be seen clearly in the 1855 edition of the 'Six Inch to the Mile' Ordnance Survey map.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁹ Lewis, S., *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London 1841, Vol. 11, p. 257.

REVIEW

COUNTY LOUTH ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL, Vol. XVI, 3, 1967.

This is the latest edition of the journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society, and as usual is excellently edited and produced. A further tribute to the editor, Very Rev. D. Mac Iomhair, is that he himself has the largest single contribution in the journal entitled 'Caraher of Cardistown Family Papers'. This is a calendar of family papers which were presented to the writer Edward Caraher of Cardistown. They include legal deeds, rent rolls, genealogies, maps and surveys, and are a storehouse of social history of the area and the time.

Arthur Curran writes on the Dominican Order in Carlingford and Dundalk, Michael Quane on 'Drogheda Blue School'.

DINNSEANCHAS 1968, Nollaig : Another excellent contribution to the difficult problem of solving the riddle of Irish place-names. This journal is published twice yearly, in June and December. Annual Subscription is 10/-.

A. H. Leaden.

The Ballinamore and Ballyconnell Canal

Part One : The Years of Construction

by

Patrick Flanagan

A : THE BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Irish canals is studded with failures — in all too many instances money was spent unwisely and the rosy expectations of the promoters were never realised to any significant extent. Even those waterways which were well-planned and constructed enjoyed a pitifully brief period of prosperity, and today the truncated Irish canal system serves only the tourist. One of the best known failures is the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal, which, on account of its considerable length and large cost, stands above all others as an example of mismanagement. Its history is both complex and interesting and the present is an appropriate time to review the subject as there is a growing body of opinion in favour of reopening this waterway. The reason underlying the movement is that the canal, while located in territory of interest in its own right, provides a potentially valuable link between the Shannon (and the southern waterways) and the Erne (the key to navigation in the north) — a fact which was clearly realised 150 years ago. Nowadays while commercial traffic on waterways has been lost to the roads forever, pleasure boating is increasing in popularity and the revenue from it is becoming an ever more valuable asset to the Irish tourist industry.

This treatment of the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal is divided in two parts. In the present article, the background to the canal and the details of its inception and construction are covered, while a future article will deal with the period from 1860, the year in which the canal was formally open for traffic.

THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS

Like many other Parliamentary projects, the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal was not the immediate fruit of new legislation. Rather, the seeds of its growth had been sown a long time before and, although the development of the project was influenced by continuing Parliamentary activity, the first rele-

vant Act was passed by the Irish Parliament in 1715. This was "An Act to Encourage the Draining and Improving of the Bogs and Unprofitable Low Grounds, and for easing and despatching the Inland Carriage and Conveyance of Goods from one part to another within this Kingdom."¹ Provision was made for the appointment of commissioners to promote various works suggested then and afterwards. What had prompted the move was a scheme to make the river Shannon navigable from Limerick to Carrickdrumrusk.² It is of interest to note that this very first Act combined the purposes of drainage and navigation — a duality which was to occur again much later.

Ambitious schemes abounded but it may just be noted that little was done, although Parliament rearranged the commissioners periodically, the chief moves being the setting up of four provincial bodies of commissioners in 1729³ and the replacement of the latter by one body — the Corporation for Promoting and Carrying on an Inland Navigation in Ireland — in 1751.⁴ This Corporation was dissolved, and replaced by separate bodies of commissioners for each of the works then in progress in 1787,⁵ but the Government changed its mind in 1800 and replaced the local undertakers by a new five-member body, the Directors-General of Inland Navigation,⁶ who took over all navigations not in the hands of specific companies. Finally, in 1831, the newly-established Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland were entrusted with the property and powers of the Directors-General.⁷

It will be noted from this necessarily brief treatment that much thought was given to navigation works. This was not so of drainage, and it was not until 1809 that anything further was done in that connection. The Commissioners of Bog Improvement had surveys carried out systematically, apparently with a view to obtaining such information as was thought necessary to enable *private* individuals to carry out improvements to land. This Commission existed from September 1807 till December 1813 and, although its activities cost a total of £37,221, no actual works of drainage were carried out.⁸

The next move to effect drainage was made on the Shannon, a river which, as a navigation, had attracted much thought. By 1820 the river was navigable the whole way from Lough Allen

1 2 Geo. I, c. 12 (Ir.).

2 Carrick-on-Shannon.

3 3 Geo. II, c. 3 (Ir.).

4 25 Geo. II, c. 10 (Ir.).

5 27 Geo. III, c. 30 (Ir.).

6 40 Geo. III, c. 51 (Ir.).

7 1 & 2 Wm. IV, c. 33.

8 Mullins, M. B., *Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland*, 6, 1863.

to the sea at Limerick, potentially valuable links being the geographically convenient if structurally inadequate Limerick/Killaloe and Lough Allen Canals. The Shannon proper had by then received much attention and had developed a typically complicated history. However, the effort and money spent had been directed towards its navigational aspects. In 1821 the Government commissioned a survey from John Rennie, the well known canal engineer, which resulted in a scheme for the drainage of some 2 million acres at a cost of £300,000.⁹

But the proposals lapsed on the death of Rennie and no work was carried out. Around this time the Shannon was in a bad state and in 1831 a commission was formed "for the purpose of taking into consideration the navigation of the Shannon, as well as that of its tributaries, as also the practicability of draining, in an effective manner, the lands subject to winter and summer floods".¹⁰ Surveys were made and reports submitted and, as far as the navigational aspects of the river were concerned, they had the beneficial result of prompting the passing of the (first) Shannon Navigation Act, 1835.¹¹ Yet more commissioners were appointed to survey the Shannon and for four years they were engaged in the surveying of lands, and in preparing for the mammoth task of improving the Shannon waterway. Authority was given to proceed in 1839 and in the following year works were commenced. Over ten years were spent on the job and it was 1852 before the task was completed. The total cost of the works was £510,750-15-9. Half this sum came from the Government and the rest — apart from a small sum paid out of navigation tolls — was levied off the counties neighbouring the waterway. The Commissioners, who, since the passing of the second Shannon Navigation Act, in 1839,¹² had been styled "The Shannon Commissioners", on completion of their work in 1852 handed over control of a now very fine waterway (terminal canals still excepted) to the Board of Public Works which, under the Public Works (Ireland) Act, 1846,¹³ had been appointed successor to the temporary Shannon Commission.

The terms of reference of the Shannon Commissioners did include the subject of drainage, but this topic had already been dealt with by legislation, though not, as expected, adequately. In 1831 a step of intended importance was taken in passing what was commonly called "More O'Ferrall's Act".¹⁴ Under this legis-

9 Delany, V. T. H. & D. R., "The Canals of the South of Ireland", Newton Abbot, 1966.

10 Quoted from Mullins, loc. cit.

11 5 & 6 Wm. IV, c. 67.

12 2 & 3 Vic., c. 61.

13 9 & 10 Vic., c. 86.

14 1 & 2 Wm. IV, c. 57.

lation, arterial drainage was to be executed by local agency. Individuals were empowered to combine to carry out particular projects, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, and to form corporations for the specific task in hand.¹⁵ But there was no practical result and, under an important Act of 1842,¹⁶ the task of carrying out arterial drainage was placed in the hands of the Board of Works.

1842 — ENTER THE BOARD OF WORKS

The Act of 1842 must be considered in some little detail as it was one of the most relevant to the Ballinamore and Ballyconnell scheme. Under its provisions, any person interested in the drainage of lands, and the opening of a navigation in connection therewith, could apply to the Commissioners for Public Works¹⁷ to have the provisions of the Act applied, provided that he undertook to bear the cost of the preliminary examination of the project which might not, after all, be approved. If, however, the Commissioners decided that the project was worthwhile and that it should be proceeded with, these expenses were attributable to the cost of the works, which was to be borne on the rates of the lands improved. Much as is the case with present-day construction of new railways, reports, plans and surveys were made and lodged for inspection by interested parties. A meeting was held and if two-thirds¹⁸ of the owners of the land to be drained approved of the proposals, the Commissioners issued a declaration accordingly and this was lodged for 21 days to await objections.

If no objections were made or upheld the Commissioners declared that all the requirements of the Act had been complied with by issuing a "Final Notice". Thereafter the works were commenced. At first it was intended that private investors would contribute the funds necessary for the works by purchasing debentures, and also that the Government would make available resources. While a few individuals did contribute, it was the Government which provided almost all the money required. However, it was designed merely as a temporary financing operation, for, once the work was completed, the valuation of the improved lands was revised and the cost of the work¹⁹ was apportioned on these lands, in accordance with the degree of improvement which had taken place. This distribution of the cost of the project was enshrined in what was known as the Final

15 Mullins, loc. cit.

16 5 & 6 Vic., c. 89.

17 Also referred to as the Board of Works.

18 Later reduced to one half.

19 Or a portion of the cost. In the case of the Shannon works half was levied off the neighbouring counties.

Award of the Commissioners, a document which also stipulated the number of years in which this cost was to be repaid by half-yearly instalments. The Final Award also handed over the District²⁰ to locally-appointed Trustees who were henceforth responsible for its maintenance, all powers of the Commissioners of Public Works ceasing. Finally, it may be noted that, while the 1842 Act was generally successful, another Act was passed to simplify matters and to enable the works to be more speedily commenced; this was commonly called the "Provision for Summary Proceedings".²¹ In all, no fewer than 121 "Districts" were defined. In 110 cases, simple drainage works were involved; 6 concerned the improvement of slob lands; drainage and navigation works were combined in the other 5 cases, although only 2 were executed as designed.²²

THE BIRTH OF THE BALLINAMORE & BALLYCONNELL SCHEME

The first proposals which can be said to anticipate the canal of later years were those of the 1770s. About 1778 the Irish Parliament approved plans²³ for a proposed navigation from Lough Erne to Garadice Lake.²⁴ Work commenced in 1780. A few years later, in 1783 and again in 1785, merchants from Enniskillen and owners of lands adjoining Lough Erne successfully petitioned the Government for financial assistance.²⁵ The Commissioners for Inland Navigation²⁶ in 1786 called on Richard Evans to make an inspection "with reference to the expenditure of a sum of £1,000 granted in the session 1783-4".²⁷ Evans was a competent canal engineer²⁸ and he had, in fact, laid out the course of the canal to Garadice Lake. He reported that much of the canal had been excavated, though the work was not complete. A lock at Carrowl²⁹ was two-thirds built, "and nearly as much cut stone on the ground as would complete it".³⁰ A lock house had been built, and the gates of the lock were framed,

20 The region in which any such project was carried out was referred to as a "District". Navigation District trustees were independent of the Board of Works; Drainage trustees were not completely autonomous.

21 9 Vic., c. 4.

22 This summary of the provisions of the 1842 Act is taken from Mullins, loc. cit.

23 Mullins, loc. cit.

24 Then known as Woodford Lake.

25 Delany, loc. cit.

26 i.e. The "Corporation" set up in 1751.

27 Mullins, loc. cit.

28 He designed and built the Leinster Aqueduct on the Grand Canal near Sallins.

29 Carowl.

30 Mullins, loc. cit.

and made "of excellent materials". Evans appears to have at least consulted William Chapman, who estimated the cost of completion of the canal to Ballyconnell at £5,000.³¹ However, funds ran out and thus work was abandoned, probably about 1786.

Evans envisaged that this canal would form part of a 61 mile, £40,000 navigation from the sea at Ballyshannon, through Lough Erne to Enniskillen, Belturbet and Ballyconnell. Necessary works would have included 12 locks and the making navigable of Lough Erne from Belturbet to Belleek. A section of canal was made between the last place and Ballyshannon and one lock was built, but in 1794 want of funds resulted in abandonment of the works.³² By 1800, however, interest in the scheme had re-awakened and it was intended that the Lough Erne-Ballyconnell canal would "form part of a great inland national communication; its future extension to be from Ballyconnell, by the Woodford River, to Ballymore and lough Scurr [sic], and to the Shannon, at Leitrim"³³ Evans was called on to submit a revised estimate of the cost of the Ballyconnell-Ballyshannon navigation. He now reckoned the total would be £48,000. No money was available, however, and nothing further came of the scheme. Nearly 40 years passed before another attempt was made to provide a canal in the Ballinamore and Ballyconnell region.

THE MULVANY SURVEY

As outlined earlier, by 1838 a body of commissioners was engaged in preparatory surveying for the improvement works on the Shannon. In that year the Treasury called on the Commissioners to report on the practicability of making a canal between the Shannon and the Erne. On 16 August 1838 a commission to carry out the necessary survey was given to William T. Mulvany, Civil Engineer. He was required to examine the country for its suitability for a canal from the Shannon, near Drumsna, to the Erne at Belturbet or "the point near Wattle Bridge, where the Ulster Canal is to open into the River Erne".³⁴ Mulvany reported on 11 March 1839, stating that he thought there were three favourable places where the summit level of a canal could be run : Letterfine, near Lough Scurr; Fort Lough, between Mohill and Carrigallen; and Cloncoose Lough, near Ballinamuck. He labelled the respective possible canals the "Ballinamore Line", the "Mohill Line" and the "Ballinamuck Line", and

31 Delany, loc. cit.

32 Delany, loc. cit.

33 Mullins, loc. cit.

34 Mulvany, W. T., "Report . . . [on] a Preliminary Examination . . . [for] A Proposed [Shannon and Erne] Junction Canal . . .", Dublin, 1839.

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he dealt with them in turn, detailing advantages and disadvantages.

The *Mohill Line* had been examined principally because the Ulster Canal Company had previously had a trial section made of it, mainly to see if a canal was possible in this most commercially advantageous direction. The canal would start a mile south of Drumsna and run by Mohill, north of Cloone and through the summit of the country between Killameen and Black Loughs; thence via Killygar, Killeshandra and Milltown to Belturbet. The total length would be 30 miles. Mulvany dismissed this route on the grounds of expense and, more important, the impossibility of maintaining an adequate supply of water in the canal. The summit would be at 239 ft. O.D., with a summit catchment basin of not more than 970 acres, which would not provide enough water. Even if the summit level were lowered to 230 ft. O.D., the catchment area would be a still inadequate 4,400 acres.

The *Ballinamuck Line* would leave the Shannon at Lough Forbes and run up the valleys which formed the Leitrim/Longford boundary and on to Killeshandra, whence the navigation would be by Lough Oughter and the Erne to Belturbet. It would, of course, be necessary to develop the natural navigation between Lough Oughter and the Erne for steamers. Again, Mulvany had two principal objections — the great expense of getting a water supply, which would in all probability be inadequate, anyway, and the fact that for 16 miles from the Shannon to Gulladoo Lough, near Carrigallen, the route was through a very poor and boggy district, from which little or no local trade could be expected. On the other hand, the summit level was nearly 50 ft. lower than the Mohill line, resulting in fewer engineering difficulties.

On the *Ballinamore Line* the summit level would be at 220 ft. O.D. This was Mulvany's choice, explained by the fact that the catchment basin would be over 10,000 acres, including lakes. He commented that "an ample natural supply can be had (without the construction of supply-courses or other engineering works) at that point on the summit where the proposed canal would cross." The canal would run from the Shannon at Leitrim, "at the harbour proposed to be formed by the Shannon Commissioners", along the valley of the Leitrim River to the summit at Letterfine, "where the average depth of cutting to obtain the required supply, would be but 13 feet 6 inches, for a length of 2,400 yards". From the summit the navigation would run "through the valley of Ballinamore, to join the River Erne"³⁵ a little above Belturbet. An alternative suggested was to divert the eastern part of the canal to Killeshandra, whence the boats

³⁵ Mulvany was not specific about this part of the route, which he had not "perambulated in detail", owing to lack of time.

would go via Lough Oughter to Belturbet (as in the case of the Ballinamuck Line). But Mulvany noted that the latter might prove very expensive.

Considering the benefits of the recommended Ballinamore Line, Mulvany outlined the trade position as it was then, commenting that on the east part of the route the greater portion of trade was by carts to and from the ports of Newry and Belfast. To Ballinamore, a mere 14 miles from the Shannon, "even the heavy article of timber is frequently brought by land carriage from Newry and Belfast". And those towns which bordered the Shannon exported much of their produce through these ports. Mulvany enumerated the main commodities which he thought would be carried on the canal. First on the list were "coals" from the mines around Lough Allen for which there was then "a very considerable demand . . . at Belturbet (in which there is a large distillery)." Iron from Arigna was also mentioned, with the hope that the Arigna Iron Works, which had not long since ground to a halt, would be revived. Then followed a list of agricultural traffic which could reasonably be expected. But in case this list was not sufficient encouragement, even though Mulvany noted that "no doubt can be entertained of its remunerative nature", he stressed the fact that the canal would link the other navigation systems of Ireland, saying that

by the construction of $28\frac{1}{2}$ miles of canal, a junction would be formed between 493 miles of navigation on the one hand and 223 miles on the other, making a total, including the Junction Canal, of 744 miles.

He appended an estimate of the cost of the works which he thought necessary :

28½ miles of Canal, including Locks, Bridges etc., at £5,000 per mile ³⁶	£142,500
Lock-regulating Weir, and other works at Belturbet ³⁷	say £10,000
Shoal ³⁸ between Belturbet and terminus of Ulster Canal,	say £500
	<hr/> £153,000

36 This was the full cost of the Ulster Canal, which had to bear heavy Parliamentary expenses. Mulvany noted that the Ballinamore canal, as a work of public utility, should be spared much of this expenditure.

37 Such works were thought necessary to permit navigation between the new canal and the Ulster Canal.

38 i.e. Removal of a shoal.

An additional £14,000 was the estimated cost of "removing Shoals, altering Bridges, and improving the navigation for steam vessels from Belturbet by the River Erne and Lough Oughter to Killeshandra".

An important recommendation was that the scale of the proposed canal should be the same as that of the Royal and Grand Canals, and not that of the Ulster Canal. The locks on the latter were too small and proved a serious hindrance to the development of trade, much to the detriment of the Ulster Canal Company. As Mulvany put it, "it seems desirable that the grand object of making this a Junction Canal common to all the principal navigations of Ireland, should not, on account of this additional expenditure³⁹ . . . , be lost to the public".

An appendix to the Report summarised the statistics of the various possible Junction Canals:—

Table 1

Description of Line	Length in stat. miles	Height of proposed summit ft. O.D.	Total rise and fall, ft.	Deepest cutting at summit	Rate of lockage per stat. mile	No. of locks	Area of catchment basin for supply of summit level
THE BALLINAMORE LINE (Canal 28½m. (River 1m.	29½	220	150	23' 0"	5.00 ft.	16)10,320 stat. acres)including 670 acres)of lakes.
THE BALLINAMORE LINE (via Killeshandra) (Canal 24½m. (River/lake 14m.	38½	220	150	23' 0"	5.75 ft.	16	
THE MOHILL LINE (Examined by the Ulster Canal Company)	30	239	196	31' 6"	6.53 ft.	21	970 including 48 of lakes.
THE MOHILL LINE (Altered at summit to obtain whole water sup- ply of district)	32	230	178	43' or 60'	5.60 ft.	19	4,400 including 260 of lakes.
THE BALLINAMUCK LINE (Canal 23½m. (River/lake 14m.	37½	191	103	32' 6"	4.00 ft.	11	Not ascertained but believed to be insufficient.

Mulvany submitted his report, which comprised the first examination of a Shannon-Erne canal proposal in any detail, but no action was taken on it at that time.

39 i.e. The cost of building the locks, etc., to the larger dimensions.

Two events in 1842 stimulated interested parties into taking some action on the Ballinamore and Ballyconnell project. The first was the passing of the Act (5 & 6 Vic., c. 89), already discussed, and the second was the opening of the Ulster Canal through to its terminus at Wattle Bridge. Under the Act a memorial was sent to the Board of Works in 1843 requesting a preliminary examination of the region for a drainage project in the Woodford Area.⁴⁰ When preparations were being made to undertake this survey, the Ulster Canal Company approached the Board of Works with a view to having a study made at the same time of the feasibility of making a navigation as well. This would, if possible to carry out, result in a through Belfast-Limerick navigation.⁴¹ In 1844 the Canal Company obtained authority to finance an engineering investigation of the project and later in that year and in the following one, a study was made.⁴² John McMahon estimated that the drainage scheme would cost £17,800 and the navigation works £92,501; an additional £15,966 would be needed if the works were to be carried out separately.⁴³ The Board of Works, on the basis of the survey, agreed to the proposals and went through the motions of complying with the provisions of the Act. Thus the Ballinamore and Ballyconnell scheme actually got under way, becoming the first project in which drainage and navigation works were combined.⁴⁴

Although in later years the project was regarded to some extent as a composite scheme, at the start the parts were quite clearly defined, however mutually dependent they were. Thus there was the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell [Drainage] District and the Shannon & Erne Junction Canal. It is of interest to note that the emphasis, as far as the canal was concerned, was on the importance of the link it would provide between other Irish waterways. Little if any significance was attached to its value as a local trade artery. Having gone through the formalities of the Act, the Board of Works issued the "Final Notice" for the Shannon & Erne Junction Canal on 26 June 1846; four days later work was commenced. The Final Notice for the Drainage scheme was issued on 19 November 1847.⁴⁵

The 17th Annual Report of the Commissioners for Public Works⁴⁶ quoted the estimated cost of the navigation works at

40 McNeill, D. B., unpublished MS; cf. also Board of Works Reports, etc.

41 Delany, loc. cit.

42 Mullins, loc. cit.

43 Delany, loc. cit.

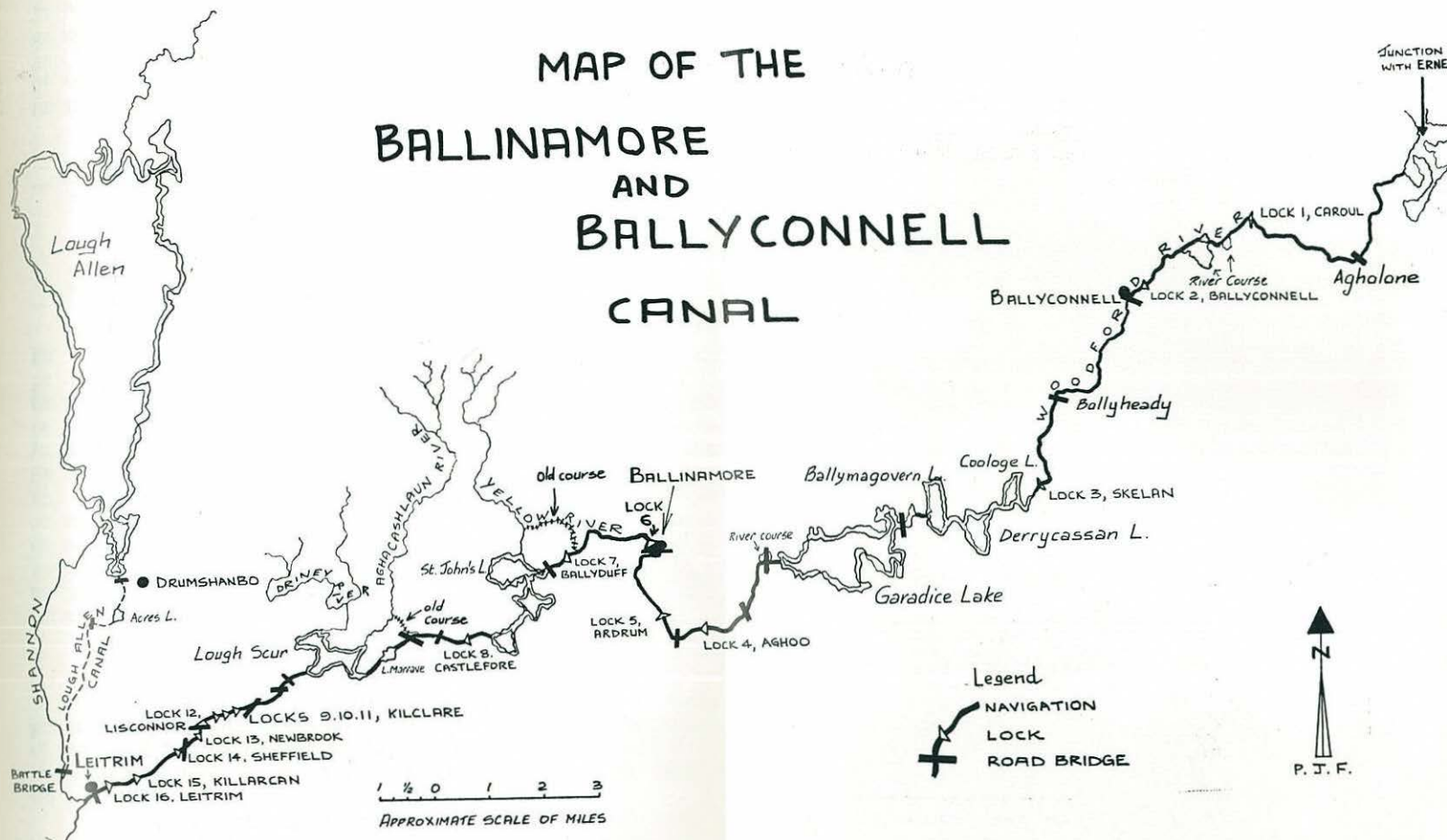
44 The only others were the Lough Neagh/Bann and Corrib schemes.

45 Board of Works Reports.

46 For the year ending 31 December 1848.

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MAP OF THE BALLINAMORE AND BALLYCONNELL CANAL



and Corrib schemes.

£100,165-19-9, and of the drainage works as £31,692-8-9. The area of the catchment basin was given as 101,455 statute acres. Some 40 miles of rivers were to be improved and drains made, and it was estimated that 6,548 acres 1 rood 18 perches of "injured and flooded" lands would be drained or improved.

To finish the story of the actual birth of the canal, details of its financing may be of interest.⁴⁷ Under the 1842 Act those individuals approaching the Board of Works to have an investigation carried out had to subscribe the preliminary expenses, and thus in 1844 the Board received deposits towards the cost of its survey. This was also the case in 1845; in 1846 some repayments were made. The figures were as follows :

Table 2

Year	Receipts (Deposits paid)		Preliminary Expenditure	
	Drainage	Navigation	Drainage	Navigation
1844	£265 5 4	£150 0 0	£232 19 3	—
1845	£80 0 0	£200 0 0	£123 2 6	£333 12 9
1846	—	—	—	£128 14 4

Characteristic of many figures in the Reports, the totals do not balance.⁴⁸ The sums advanced for the drainage survey expenses in 1844 and 1845 were repaid in full; those for navigation do not seem to have been repaid. The difference between receipts and expenditure was made up from Board of Works funds. It has been stated already that the Act provided for the financing of the actual works by loans obtained from individuals, but that in almost every case the Government was the sole contributor. However, in the case of the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell scheme, two loans were obtained from individuals in 1846. William Booth loaned £2,500, and a Dr Johnson contributed £5,000. These were the only private loans to come in the course of the whole scheme.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CANAL

Before dealing with the details of the construction, it is, perhaps, appropriate to give an outline description of the route of the canal from the Erne to the Shannon. This should help in the assimilation of the many facts of the building of the waterway.

The Erne is particularly tortuous in the region to the north of Belturbet but the Woodford River, which formed the path of the canal for much of its way, may be said to enter it just

⁴⁷ From (Board of Works) Reports 13, 14 & 15, for years 1844-46.

⁴⁸ They form part of one *overall* revenue and expenditure account for drainage works.

north of Anoneen Lough in County Cavan. This was the northern terminal of the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal. Besides forming the navigation, the river was also the Cavan/Fermanagh border, and it was crossed by Aghalane Bridge, some $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the mouth. Just $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Aghalane was Lock No. 1, Caroul, and a half-mile further on was an artificial cut about one-fifth of a mile long, made to avoid a U-bend in the Woodford River proper. Nearby was Cloncoohy Lough from which another artificial cut led to the river near Lock No. 2, a little north of Ballyconnell, which town was just short of 8 miles from the start of the canal.

Still, in effect, the Woodford River, the navigation continued in a south-westerly direction past the point where the Cavan & Leitrim Railway built a low bridge 40 years later. Just $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Ballyconnell, where the canal-cum-river was bounded by the townlands of Coologe and Kiltynaskellan, was Lock No. 3. Its name, Skelan, was an abbreviated version of the latter townland name. Half a mile further the navigation met Coologe Lough, which ran into Derrycassan Lough, in the middle of which the Leitrim/Cavan boundary was met. A channel of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile led into Ballymagovern Lake and 3 miles from Skelan a short channel led through Woodford Demesne into Garadice Lake. On the western side of this lake an artificial cut avoided another U-bend, this time in the Yellow River which was now canalised. Eight miles from Skelan was Lock No. 4, Aghoo, located near Riverdale.⁴⁹ A mile further was Lock No. 5, Ardrum, and over a mile past this was Lock No. 6, Ballinamore. Just short of the town of Ballinamore, 23 miles from the Erne, the waterway bifurcated, the eastern branch serving a quay at the Market House, built in 1847. A little past the town the branches converged and the course of the Yellow River was again used for the run past Lock No. 7, Ballyduff ($2\frac{1}{8}$ miles from Ballinamore), to St John's Lough, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Ballinamore.

Then followed a $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles navigation through St John's Lough, on the western side of which, in the townland of Muckros, began a 2 mile artificial cut linking it to Lough Marrave. In this cut, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from St John's Lough, was Lock No. 8, Castlefore. The stretch of waterway west of this lock, through Lough Marrave and Lough Scur, some $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles in all, comprised the summit level of the navigation; it was supplied by two rivers — the Aghacashlaun and Driney rivers.

Once out of Lough Scur the navigation was a still-water canal for the rest of its course to the Shannon. In this section the lockage was the heaviest, there being no fewer than 8 locks in the 5 mile artificial canal section. Locks 9, 10 and 11 were

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all in a line in the townland of Kilclaremore, some 10½ miles from Ballinamore. Half-a-mile further on, just at the roadbridge in Kilclarebeg townland, was Lisconnor Lock, No. 12. About ¼ mile further was Lock No. 13, Newbrook, and then there was Lock No. 14 at Sheffield, 11½ miles from Ballinamore. Lock No. 15 was at Killarcan, about 1 mile past Sheffield, and there was about half this distance between it and the last lock, No. 16, Leitrim. Half-a-mile from this lock the canal ran into the Shannon, some 37 miles from the Erne.⁵⁰

B : THE CONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

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The student of the history of the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal is singularly fortunate in that the Annual Reports of the Commissioners for Public Works constitute a magnificent source. From 1849 onwards they are particularly valuable in that appended to them are the annual reports of the resident engineers in charge of the various drainage districts where work was in progress. Although arranged, in the case of the Ballinamore canal, on the basis of the geographical locations on the canal from Erne to Shannon, and hence all topics — locks, bridges, drainage, dredging and so on — are dealt with together (a diffuse and at times indigestible treatment), these yearly accounts of the work afford an almost step-by-step report on the progress on the construction of the canal.

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The following account is based almost exclusively on these Reports, which are not referred to in footnotes to avoid excessive repetition. In general, it may be assumed that a description of work in a particular year will be found in the Report for that year. Likewise, the Reports will give details of some of the purely drainage works which have been omitted here to avoid excessive length. Much financial information is contained in the Reports and the most important statistics are quoted in this paper. But it may be noted that there are odd discrepancies in the sums quoted in various places within the Reports. No attempt has been made to iron out all these differences, which in any case do not amount to much more than one per cent of the sums involved.

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No attempt was made in the annual returns to separate the drainage and navigation projects although, as will be noted, someone was keeping an eye on the division of the expenditure.

⁵⁰ The official length is 38 miles 46 chains, but this would depend on the precise (and now unknown) course through the lakes.

The expenditure rose fairly steeply from 1846 till 1849 after which there was a decline. This was gradual but after 1855 the figures dropped sharply. Apart from the £7,500 loaned by Messrs Booth and Johnson (mentioned above), and a mere £610 "other receipts", all the money for the works was advanced by the Government through the Board of Works, as loans on which interest was chargeable.

Table 3

Year	Expenditure in year	Interest in year	Cumulative total Expenditure
1846	£8,027	£—	£8,027
1847	£16,438	£585	£25,050
1848	£20,125	£876	£46,051
1849	£33,002	£1,540	£80,593
1850	£32,810	£2,220	£115,620
1851	£28,525	£3,473	£147,618
1852	£21,465	£4,549	£173,487
1853	£19,465	£5,255	£198,207
1854	£15,365	£5,792	£219,364
1855	£14,032	£5,765	£239,161
1856	£6,375	£6,558	£252,094
1857	£5,037	£5,402	£262,533
1858	£2,884	£6,602	£272,019
1859	£2,996	£6,761	£281,776

PROGRESS IS REPORTED : 1846-1850

Although the Final Notice for the drainage project was not issued until late in 1847, "a considerable part of the works peculiar to drainage" was proceeded with in that year. Early in 1848 there was "a great quantity of rain" which interfered with the work and there was a further interruption to the drainage works later in the year owing to a lack of funds. Work on some important tributaries was suspended although the navigation proceedings were carried on. The reporting engineer was William Forsyth, who related that the excavation at Caroul shoal was nearly finished. The outfall from Coologe Lake had been opened, while excavations at Aghoo had relieved the lands of Drumrane, Ardrum and Edentinny.

T. J. Mulvany, the district engineer,⁵¹ reported in subsequent years. His account of the work done in 1849 mentioned that the earthworks of the main channel were in "a very forward state". In particular, the section from the Erne to Ballyconnell was nearly finished, as were the sections between Garadice and St John's Lough, between Drumany and Lough Scur, and on the Shannon side of the summit between Kilclare and Leitrim; "which part [was] to be almost entirely a still-water

51 Who was based at Belturbet to oversee the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell works.

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navigation and all the earthworks of which [would] be completed early next season". The heavy rock cutting at the summit level was also progressing and already some locks were built.⁵²

A "dredging vessel worked by men" was transferred to the district from Lough Oughter in 1849 and was employed at the end of the year clearing away dams at Aghalane. Another small dredger was also at work between Dernagore and Carrickalease, and Mulvany noted that it was "in contemplation to provide one or two additional dredgers, worked either by steam or manual power, to form the channel through the lakes, and in other places where the work [could] be done cheaper by dredging than by excavation in the ordinary manner". The report ended on a falsely optimistic note — Lough Erne to Ballyconnell "will be open next summer" and Mulvany hoped that the whole lot would be open before the winter of 1851.

In 1850 progress was somewhat limited by a scarcity of labour. The maximum number of men employed on any one day was 2,657 and more were required but could not be obtained. It was noted that "the county Leitrim (and especially the poor law Unions of Mohill and Carrick-on-Shannon), [had] been the chief gainers from [the year's] expenditure". For example "when it became necessary to divert a mountain torrent by a new cut across a bog into Lough Scur . . . the bog subsided 16 out of 24 feet". Also, Mulvany stated that fully nine-tenths of the cost of the works were spent in cash in the area. Tools and equipment, where locally made, were bought if at all possible. The "two small iron factories in the neighbourhood of Clones, County Monaghan" provided all the spades and shovels, while wheelbarrows and iron tools of every description were supplied by working carpenters and smiths throughout the district.

A notable development of 1850 resulted from the decision of the Board of Works to fit out one or more steam dredgers. The works on the Shannon were then nearing completion and the tools of the Rooskey workshops were purchased for the equipping of new workshops at Belturbet. There, "very convenient premises were fortunately procured which at a trifling expense [were] converted into commodious workshops".

On the site of the canal a good deal of excavation and dredging had been carried out at Dernagore, Carrickalease and Ballyconnell. Mulvany noted that some work on weirs and locks next summer⁵³ would open the waterway as far as Ballyconnell Bridge. However, the full depth of water would not be obtained until a good deal of dredging was done between Caroul and Ballyconnell, especially at Dernagore and Carrickalease, where the navigation was through new cuts and not the old river

⁵² The locks are dealt with separately.

⁵³ i.e. In 1851

course; these cuts required much dredging. Beyond Ballyconnell the excavation of the main channel had been completed through Agharaskilly Shoal and nearly through Cormeen Shoal. From 2 to 4 feet had been excavated at Ballyheady Shoal.

Likewise, by 1850 the earthworks were very nearly complete from Riverdale, Aghoo, onwards past Ballinamore, though some excavation remained to be done near the town. The channel from Castlefore to Lough Marrave was nearly finished while the "course of the river between Lough Marrave and Lough Scur, which was exceedingly swampy, [had] been carefully drained and consolidated preparatory to the excavation of the navigable channel". Work had also been carried on the bog cut for the diversion of the Aghacashlaun River, and the rock cut for the diversion of the Driney River had been completed nearly to the full depth.

The earthworks were also very advanced on the still-water section from the summit to Leitrim, "not more than one-fifth remaining to be done, and about the same proportion of the rockwork". The latter was mainly at the heavy cutting at the summit, between Lough Scur and Drumaleague Lough, where "a railway [had] been laid down, and horses and waggons employed to carry the spoil to the lake".

THE MAIN CHANNEL CONTINUES : 1851-1854

In the preamble to his report for 1851 Mulvany again stated that he had difficulty in getting sufficient labour, especially as the weather was fine in Autumn. However, the mildness of the winter allowed work to continue, and he felt that the only way in which the work could be speeded up was to keep as many men as possible at work in winter when there was no demand for their labour at farm work. In November 1851 a maximum of 1,690 men were at work daily; the December figure was 1,350 men.

Work in 1851 was directed largely towards the main channel excavation, although locks were continued (see below). Dredging was continued at the Dernagore and Carrickalease cuts with a view to obtaining a channel at full depth, and 12 to 15 feet wide at bottom, there and also through Drumderg Lake. Excavations had also been carried out at Caroul and Ballyconnell. Ballyheady Shoal excavation had been completed except for the excavation of the bottom at one point where the dredger would be required, as it was difficult to unwater⁵⁴ the work at

⁵⁴ It may be noted that the normal procedure in working at any specific point was to isolate that point by building dams on either side. These dams held back the water which would otherwise make work impossible.

that point. When the Ballyheady reach was completed the main channel excavation was continued at Coologe Shoal. By the year's end two-thirds of this work had been finished and all the cross-dams between Coologe and Ballyconnell had been removed by small dredger. It was anticipated that the cut through Coologe and Skelan would be finished early in 1852. Then, when Shruagh and Woodford Shoals had been excavated during the summer, Garadice Lake would be lowered, and the reach from there to Aghoo would be "in a fit state for working".

Beyond Aghoo, excavation was carried out in 1851 between Ardrum and St John's Lough and also from Castlefore to Lough Scur. Other important works in this region included the widening of the cut in the rock cutting near the Drumshanbo road for the diversion of the Yellow River, and the completion of the cut through Annagh Bog for the diversion of the Aghacashlaun river into Lough Scur. The mountain rivers had been turned into the lakes above Ballyduff and the water in St John's Lough had been kept under control by means of "a temporary sluice". Thus it had been possible, by impounding the water in St John's Lough, to finish the deep cutting between Ballinamore and Ballyduff where it had proved impracticable to have "a side-tap or unwatering course". During such times the Mill at Ballinamore⁵⁵ had been stopped by agreement, although on occasion it was supplied with water "provided for the purpose in George's Lake".

On the far side of the summit level, in the Kilclare reach, some excavation and dredging remained to be done. Elsewhere on the canal, excavation had still to be carried out between Coologe and Aghoo, at Ballyduff and between St John's Lough and Castlefore. An interesting comment in the report is that crannoges were discovered when St John's Lough, Lough Scur and Drumaleague Lough were lowered by the works.

Excavation work also occupied much of the 1852 Report. Work had continued on the main channel at Coologe and Skelan while, notwithstanding the hopes of the 1851 Report, "preparations" were being made to deal with shoals at Shruagh, Woodford and Ballinacor Bridge, "so as to lower Garadice Lake effectually". However, work had been done on Ballyconnell Shoal and dams at Drumettagh had been removed. Dredging had been done at Carrickalease, Ballyconnell and at Coologe. The Crooked River, which joined the main river just above Ballyconnell and which had been partially deepened in 1846, was excavated to full depth.

The deepening operations at Skelan necessitated further excavation in the main channel between Garadice Lake and Aghoo which was carried out. Between Ballinamore and St John's

⁵⁵ Sharpley's Mill at Stradermot. It is mentioned later.

Lough the main channel was about completed although, near the site of Ballyduff Lock, some trouble had been met with. The banks were soft and slippery and the bottom tended to "rise" as a result, and it could not be further deepened "at present". Between St John's Lough and the site of Castlefore Lock the channel had been deepened as much as possible pending the completion of the cutting at Ballyduff and Derrymacoffin. The streams connecting Camagh Lough with George's Lough and the latter with the main channel above Ballinamore Mill were cleared.

The heavy rock cuts on the summit level between Lough Scur and Drumaleague Lough were completed in 1852 as were those between the latter and Kilclare. Much clearing of spoil banks had been done and this section of the canal was more or less finished, as far as excavation was concerned.

Although much ancillary activity was going on at the same time as the work on the main channel, it would seem as if the tasks of drainage and excavation were the limiting factors in the progress of the construction. As will be outlined below, the business of construction of locks, weirs and so on, generally kept pace with the earthwork, the pace of which was, to say the least, very slow. In view of the protracted construction period it is perhaps just as well that for the greater part of the canal a readymade channel, in the form of a river course, was available. Otherwise the construction could have gone on for decades!

However, the reports indicate that by the end of 1854 — eight years after the commencement of work — the primary works of excavation had been completed. Work in 1853 consisted of excavation of the navigation channel through the shoals at Mullynacoagh and Killynick, between Lough Erne and Aghalane Bridge, and at Aghalane Shoal, Dernagore, Carrickalease and Ballyconnell, where dredging took place. The dredging of the first 3 shoals is of particular interest in that a steam dredger was employed; this vessel is referred to below. More excavation and dredging was done at Coologe and Skelan first, and afterwards (at long last!) at Shruagh, Woodford Demesne and Ballinacor Shoals; the last mentioned was the last to be excavated below Garadice Lake, and it proved both difficult and expensive to deal with. But Mulvany commented that a considerable amount of soft matter had still to be dredged between Skelan and Garadice Lake in order to form a channel which was deep enough for navigation. The main channel was also excavated between Garadice Lake and Aghoo, at Creevy and Ballyduff, at Derrymacoffin Shoal, in St John's Lough and at Drumany and Castlefore reaches. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles "of the old tap drains" were filled in between Aghoo and Ardrum and between Castlefore and Lough Marrave, and "most of the land so restored to the owners was under crops last season — chiefly potatoes". Dredg-

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ing was carried out at Leitrim and between Killarcan and Newbrook, the excavation in that region being finished.

Mulvany began his Report for 1854 with a minor catalogue of woes. Horses were very scarce and the local owners were quick to push their hire charges to an exorbitant level. More serious, however, was a manpower shortage and Mulvany gave two reasons — emigration, perhaps to be expected, and, more surprisingly, recruitment for the army.⁵⁶ Thus he was "unable, at any period of the year, to procure a sufficient force of men for the heavy reaches of excavation which it was most desired to push on".

But the canal was progressing, even if slowly. That the steam dredger was able to move from Aghalane to Ballyconnell, where it completed the deepening of the main channel, and onwards to dredge away dams and shoals at Cormeen and Ballyheady, was definite evidence of progress, for this was no insignificant vessel. A hand dredger was used below Caroul to clear away the dams at Drumettagh, and at Corraback shoal. The required depth was 4 ft 6 in. below the level of summer water. A major cleaning job was carried out between April and June 1854. The river at Skelan was completely closed by a dam⁵⁷ and the 5 mile stretch to Ballyconnell was almost run dry and "as many labourers as could be got at the time were set to remove any dams, unfinished portions of shoals, or deposit from the navigation channel, and were so employed till the works at [Ballyconnell] Mill⁵⁸ were completed, when it was necessary to let the water into the river at its proper level, for the working of the mill".

By a repetition of this shock treatment for three weeks in September 1854, all the excavation was completed to the full depth through the shoals up to Cormeen. A comparatively small amount of work was left to be done by the steam dredger "to complete the navigable channel in this portion of the district". Things were not going quite so well, however, with other portions of the main channel, the excavation of which would have been complete (in spite of the labour shortage) but for serious slipping of the sides of the banks. Mulvany reported that

In consequence of the impracticability of excavating those portions of the channel at present to the full intended depth, the Commissioners have decided upon raising the summer level of the water in those reaches, pro tem, by one foot, and opening the navigation with a general depth of four feet six inches instead of six feet.

⁵⁶ This was the time of the Crimean War.

⁵⁷ Which impounded the water in Garadice and other lakes.

⁵⁸ These works are referred to below.

The depth to be attained, therefore, at present, will be two feet six inches less than was originally intended, and the greater portion of the material remaining to be removed, even to attain that depth, will have to be dredged, as there is much less likelihood of the bottom rising when the water is in the channel than when it is attempted to carry on the sinking by means of excavation within dams.

The only other places where main channel excavation was carried out in 1854 were : Garadice Lake to Aghoo, St John's Lough to Castlefore, below Ballyduff Lock, at Derrymacoffin and Muckros shoals. Dredging was done at Leitrim and between Killarcan and Sheffield locks.

THE END IN SIGHT : 1855-1857

In 1855 the weather was generally favourable although very severe frost in late January and February considerably retarded progress on the masonry work. However, despite floods in March and August, most of the year was suitable for excavation. Dams and loose shoals were cleared from Corraback shoal, and similar work was done around Aghalane. It proved necessary to dredge away deposit in the channel below Caroul and to deepen the channel at Drumettagh, although the latter work was interrupted when the summer level of Lough Erne fell more than seven inches further than was anticipated and it was necessary to move away the hand dredger as a result. Some hard material there was left for the steam dredger to cope with; that vessel had been at work dredging the channel to 4 ft 6 in. depth in the reach between Ballyheady Bridge and Skelan. Dams were removed at the latter place, and the Report (made in this and subsequent years by Martin Farrell) noted that there was now a sufficient navigation depth through Coologe Lough, Derrycassan Lake and the Shruagh shoal. Dams and some stone were removed from Woodford Shoal and "the dams put in by the contractor for building Ballinacor Bridge, and which he (although he promised to do so) did not remove, were removed by the steam dredger" on its way from Skelan to Garadice.

At the western end of Garadice Lake a small dredger was clearing the mouth of the river when the steam dredger arrived in June and the latter cleared the river course to the Carrickmakeegan diversion cut in early September to the full navigation depth. Between April and September excavation was carried out on the channel between Carrickmakeegan and the western end of Lisnatullagh deviation cut, while the channel above and below Derrygoan Bridge was completed to the proper depth. At the year's end the steam dredger was at work there and it

was reported that if the sluices were installed the whole channel from the Erne to Derrygoan (except for a small portion at Drummettagh) would be fit for navigation. Between Aghoo and Ballinamore the channel had been deepened and widened in February 1855, and dredging had been done at Creevy and Ballyduff.

Near Derrymacoffin Bridge more dredging had been done and all the excavation that was possible using wheelbarrows had been carried out between St John's Lough and Castlefore Lock. It was noted that along a stretch of 1,000 feet some $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of material would have to be removed by the "C" steam dredger, which had been brought below Castlefore Lock for this purpose.⁵⁹

That the work remaining to be done in 1856 was chiefly the finishing off of relatively minor matters is confirmed by Farrell in his Report for that year. There was not very much to be done but it involved much moving from place to place and it was "tedious and expensive". As had happened before the number of men at work dropped very much during "the season for planting potatoes and getting in the harvest". Work consisted mainly of dredging by the two steam dredgers and "four of the other descriptions of dredge boats", at Aghoo, Drumrane, Creevy, Drumany, Drumaleague, Sheffield and Black Lough. It had been hoped to finish the job speedily but it had been found impossible to raise the water for dredging in the usual manner (placing timber on the weirs, causing pounding of the water) without flooding much land and instead it was necessary to make dams across the channel and to provide escape courses which proved difficult to maintain.

Among the difficulties encountered was a familiar one — the "rising" of the bottom of the channel wherever soft ground occurred. Farrell stated that, in addition to increasing the amount of dredging necessary, "it was necessary to raise the water higher than it had been calculated would answer, for the purpose of floating the dredges over ground to be dredged, and to enable them to come at the excavation of the sides of the

⁵⁹ This is an interesting first reference to this vessel. It was almost certainly one of the four, designated "A", "B", "C", "D" and named *Victoria*, *Albert*, *Prince* and *Princess Alice*, respectively, which were previously employed on the Shannon works; they were steam dredgers. The "C" dredger was apparently built in 1842 and was described as "small". In this account it is referred to as 'dredger C'; the term 'steam dredger', used previously, refers throughout to the vessel first mentioned in the Report for 1853. That the still-water portion of the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell Canal had been virtually completed is indicated by the presence of dredger C near Castlefore. It could only have arrived there via the Canal from Leitrim.

canal". There had been a recurrence of trouble in the Erne — Caroul reach. The summer water level was four inches lower than calculated and once more it was necessary to carry out dredging to the 4 ft 6 in. depth for navigation. The steam dredger was brought from Drumrane and put to work there.

Dams in the Comogue Reach, which had been made to raise the water for dredging at Aghoo, were removed. Work at Aghoo had been carried out by steam and hand dredgers early in the year. The stream from Lough Awaddy which met the canal near Derrygoan Bridge was deepened and when the work was completed in April there was a 2 ft. drop in the level of the lake. In the Aghoo reach hard gravel with boulders had been encountered and it was decided that there the channel should be deepened to the original bottom level.⁶⁰ The channel was enclosed with dams and preparations made for excavation by wheelbarrows. However, the labourers refused to work there unless they received "a very high price", and the steam dredger was given the job. The task was nearly completed on 19 June, when the dam which kept the water level up at Lisnatullagh was burst by a flood. Thereafter a hand dredger was used there and at Comogue; afterwards it went to Drumany.

After the dam mishap the steam dredger returned to Drumrane, whence, after a month, it appears to have moved to Druma-league for about six weeks after which it returned to Drumrane. As mentioned, it then went off to Caroul. At Drumrane some rock had been left in situ "when the work was in progress in 1852" and now, four years later, an attempt was made to remove it by the familiar method of enclosing it with dams. However, the rate of leakage was so great that the excavation was abandoned and a new channel was dredged alongside the rock. The "small portion of rock left in [would] be marked off with iron beacons". At this time small dredgers were at work at Drumany and Creevy.

Farrell then analysed the work which remained to be done on the canal. Dredging required to be carried out at Black Lough (expected to be finished by late January 1857), Drumany (about a month's work with "the four dredges"), Creevy (about a fortnight's work, if the banks did not slip, which could be done by the small dredgers on their way from Drumany to Aghoo), and Aghoo to Garadice (about six weeks' work by the small dredgers). A small amount of work remained at Skelan, Ballyheady and Ballyconnell, which could be done by the steam dredger on its way to help at Aghoo.

In 1857 dredging was carried out by the steam dredger in January and February at Tonymore and Drumettagh and in March and April at Mullynacoagh, Kinnrush, Aghafane and

⁶⁰ 6 or 7 feet. The matter is confused (cf. pages 364-5).

Caroul. Work was also carried out in this region on clearing the Derrylaney tributary. It commenced in July but "through a misunderstanding of directions given by Lord Erne's agent to some of the tenants, they opposed the entrance of the workmen on the land". The dispute was resolved on 16 July. The Crooked River also gave trouble. At "the bridge on the high road from Ballyconnell to Ballinamore", which consisted of two arches, each of 10 ft span, a flood "completely choked [it] in its whole waterway during a flood in October, in consequence of the angular direction of the river water when reaching the bridge". The river course was altered.

In the Comogue reach, a hand dredger was at work between Garadice and Derrygoan Bridge and at the end of July it was necessary to cut a passage for dredger C through a bar of deposit on the west side of Garadice Lake. This vessel, which had been on the western part of the canal, was reported to have "arrived at Belturbet from Leitrim" on 5 August 1857.⁶¹

Small dredgers were at work at Aghoo, where the bottom had risen to some extent where the steam dredger had dredged to the full depth in 1856. Similar work was necessitated at Drumany in January and February for identical reasons. In February and March, a little dredging was done near Castlefore Lock, while work through Black Lough and from Leitrim to the Shannon was completed in January.

THE FIRST BOATS : 1858-1859

Both dredger C and the steam dredger were absent from the Canal in the early part of 1858 but they returned at the beginning of June. One had been on loan,⁶² and the other was working in the Lough Oughter drainage district. Some dredging was done between Aghalane and Caroul and also below Ballyconnell Lock. Another work was described in one of the most interesting references in all the reports :

In December a double turn in the canal, a little below Ballyconnell, was made wider, to prevent accident to the fan of the screw steamer, *which, with the Board's permission, had been running between Carrick-on-Shannon and Belturbet since the previous month.*⁶³

61 In the absence of other evidence, this is of great interest as being the first recorded passage of a boat *through* from Leitrim to the Erne. Although difficulties may have abounded, the canal may fairly be said to have been in a ready, if possibly rough, state.

62 Its whereabouts are mentioned below.

63 The phraseology implies a regularity in the passages of the steamer which, if true, would date the actual opening of the canal for traffic (if not the formal opening) in November 1858. But even the minimum of a single return trip is worthy of note as it confirms the effective completion of the main work.

From now onwards the work was to consist of the finishing touches. These included some work in September on the dam under the arch of Ballyheady Bridge and clearing of silt and gravel at Skelan and Tubberlion. Silt had also accumulated at the western outlet of Garadice Lake and a hand dredger was put to work in June. The steam dredger was on the job in July when a channel "20 feet in width and of full depth" was opened. Its dredging was completed in October.

At Comogue, Lisnatullagh and Aghoo the channel was cleared. There was trouble at Lisnatullagh — the weight of the approach of the bridge caused the northern canal bank to sink, pushing forward the piles which supported the bridge. Although the piles were repaired in March 1858 the bank still sank and in December it was necessary to "remove the material of the approach near the canal side, and substitute strong brushwood, laid in successive strata at right angles to each other, which, by diminishing the weight on the bank, [was] expected [to] prevent its further sinking".

Some clearing of the channel was carried out below Drumany Bridge in November and at each end of Letterfine Cut in that and the previous month. Deposit was removed from the canal at the Doon stream outlet in February and March "with a spoon, worked with shear legs on the bank, and a movable platform across the canal". The same technique was used to remove part of a dam at Killarcan in April.

The operation of the screw steamer between Carrick and Belturbet, already mentioned, was in fact the second such occurrence in 1858. Farrell concluded his Report with a detailed account of the passing of another boat which was in effect a "final dress rehearsal" for the running of the steamer in November. He reported as follows :

In June, a trade-boat was hired from the Ulster Canal, and a load of tiles was brought from Florencecourt tilery to Ballyduff, near Ballinamore. After the delivery of the tiles a load of gravel was taken in at Ballyduff, which was brought to Leitrim. The boat was then taken to Lough Allen, and got a load of coals, which was brought to the steam dredger working at Garadice. It was worked by some of the canal ordinary workmen, and, although some heavy weather was encountered in Lough Allen, only four weeks elapsed between their leaving Crom with the tiles, and delivering the boat up to the Ulster Canal Company, including delivery of the tiles, taking in and delivering the gravel and coals.

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This evidence shows that the canal was ready for use by June 1858. It is reinforced by the Report for 1859⁶⁴ which noted that nothing was done to the main channel from the Erne to Skelan, apart from routine maintenance. The newly dredged channel at the upper and lower entrances to Garadice Lake, however, was deepened in September. Dredging was done only in a few isolated places — between Aghoo and Ardrum Locks, at Creevy, between Lough Scur and Kilclare and from Newbrook Lock to the Shannon. The 1859 Report (dated 14 February 1860) was the last one which referred to the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell project and its appearance marked the end of the protracted period of construction, and the completion of the canal.⁶⁵

BRIDGES

Before describing the bridge construction, which, of course, paralleled the excavation of the main channel of the navigation, it may be noted that not all bridges were built at the cost of the Board of Works. The legislation governing drainage activities provided that the cost of reconstructing or altering unsuitable public bridges (for example, those which caused floods) or culverts across rivers or drains affected by drainage works should be defrayed by the County or Barony involved upon the Commissioners of Public Works' determining by a declaration of such cost and issuing certain notices.⁶⁶ In 1851, for example, the Commissioners prepared accounts for the Bridges at Aghalane, Ballyconnell, Blackwater and Ballymagovern and stated their intention to seek presentments at the Cavan and Fermanagh Assizes. These accounts were forwarded as intended to the 1852 Spring Assizes. The Cavan Grand Jury hedged till the summer, pending a report, but then passed a presentment for the amount sought. Fermanagh Grand Jury, on the other hand, refused to pass the presentment for their portion of the cost of Aghalane

64 Farrell died in October 1859, and the Report was made by W. Forsyth.

65 It also contained details of ancillary works on the canal, which are dealt with under separate headings. Drainage works described may be summarised : clearing of Drumderg and Derryaney Rivers (the latter to be done yearly), also of Annagh Lough drain, Crooked River, Derryginney Stream, Tubberlion and Skelan drains, Blackwater tributary, Carrickaveril River and Ballinwing and Bellanaboy drains. In addition, "the upper end of the new cut for the diversion of the Aghacashlaun River across Annagh Bog [was] widened, piles [were] driven, and a protection wall built to the embankment at the old channel" where the diversion began.

66 Report No. 17 (1848).

Bridge, unless compelled to do so by law. The matter was still unsettled at the end of 1852.

1849 : The bridges over the main channel at Aghalane and Ballyconnell and over the navigation cut at Ballinamore "are now completed and have been for some time open to the public". Ballyduff Bridge was built and its approaches nearly completed, while the oblique bridges at Kilclare and Newbrook and the square bridge at Leitrim had been completed up to springing level; all these were public road bridges. Accommodation bridges had been built : one at Drumany and one at Sheffield.

1850 : The old bridge at Ballyheady was removed and a temporary one put in its place. The bridge over the river at Ballinamore was underpinned and that at Ballyduff had with its approaches been "completed and open to the public for several months". A bridge was planned at Letterfine but the site had not yet been decided upon; likewise two accommodation bridges remained to be built.

1851 : The new bridge at Ballyheady was nearly finished, it consisted of one arch, 45 ft span. It had proved very difficult to unwater the site to get a foundation for the bridge. The shoal there was "clean running gravel" and the water ran through it, raising the cost of this part of the work to five times the estimated price. The bridge works at Ballinamore were finally completed and the abutments of the skew bridge at Castlefore were built and the arch partly turned. A bridge was also built over the cut for the diversion of the Aghacashlaun River into Lough Scur at the point where it met the Drumshanbo Road. No progress was made on the Letterfine bridge site decision.

1852 : Ballyheady Bridge with its retaining walls and approaches was completed and opened to the public since May. In July similar progress was reported at Castlefore. A new bridge was started at Aghoo, with a 35 ft span and 21 ft roadway, as was one of 10 ft span and 18 ft roadway, built on a piled foundation, over the George's Lake stream. A new skew bridge, "25 ft span on square", was built over the cut for the diversion of the Yellow River at Kiltybarden. Another 25 ft span new bridge was reported built over the bog cut for diverting the Aghacashlaun River into Lough Scur.⁶⁷ However, the foundation was so bad that, "although considerable pains were taken to secure the abutments by piling, one of them yielded so much to the thrust of the arch, as to render it necessary to take down the arch, and it [was now] proposed to finish the bridge with a superstructure

67 No location was quoted so this could well have been the bridge referred to as being built in 1851.

of iron girders". Two wooden accommodation bridges were erected across the Kiltubrid cut which diverted the Driney River into Lough Scur. The Letterfine bridge was at last reported built.

1853 : An iron lattice bridge, 25 ft span and 18 ft roadway, was made "and fitted up over the Annagh Bog Cut in the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell district".⁶⁸ The old bridge at Ballinacor was removed and a temporary wooden structure substituted until the county authorities built a new bridge. Aghoo Bridge was completed in May and the old structure was "immediately afterwards removed". The abutments of the bridge over the Aghacashlaun River diversion were altered to suit the new superstructure, the latter being erected in December. A new public road bridge, of 6 ft span, was built at Drumcong over the stream connecting Lough Scur with Carrickaport Lough. Two additional accommodation bridges were erected over the Driney River cut at Kiltubrid. Another accommodation bridge was at Letterfine.⁶⁹

1854 : Accommodation bridges, 25 ft span, "with strong abutments of masonry and wooden superstructure", were erected at Kiltybarden (Yellow River diversion) and Annagh (Aghacashlaun River diversion). Another, of 35 ft span, was built over the navigation channel at Derrymacoffin. The latter bridge, if not all three, was built at Belturbet, where a total of six accommodation bridges was made in that year "of laminated timber ribs" for the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell and Lough Oughter districts. Several smaller bridges were made for minor streams.

1855 : A temporary bridge which had been made for the conveyance of stone to Caroul Lock and weir was removed. At Carrickalease, an accommodation bridge, with timber top and bottom straining pieces, connected by diagonal iron bars, was put up on "tressels", 43 ft apart, the sides of which were driven with a pile engine 5 ft through soft bottom and 6 ft into the strong gravel. The resulting bridge was reckoned to be very strong and "serviceable". It replaced a temporary bridge which, however, had needed repairs in June as it was "in a very precarious state". A new 35 ft span bridge was erected over the Blackwater at Killyran and its approaches formed. While the excavation was in progress on the Carrickmakeegan cut (at the west end of Garadice Lake) a 35 ft span accommodation bridge was erected. A road bridge with 35 ft span and 12 ft roadway,

68 This bridge, built at Belturbet, was very probably for the Aghacashlaun River diversion, but the name Annagh appears elsewhere in the district (cf. Note 65).

69 It may have been one of those referred to in the 1850 Report, and it appears to have been built prior to 1853.

with 13 ft headway, was built with its approaches at Derrygoan; it carried traffic from October. The laminated ribs, with fenced railing and planked roadway, were put on the abutments of Derrymacoffin Bridge.⁷⁰ Work was also carried out on an accommodation bridge at Derrinkip. The foundations were sunk between 3 and 6 feet below the bottom of the canal. The approaches to the bridge were formed and the roadway completed.

1856 : A bridge was built across the Ballyconnell mill race in May to allow "an approach from the high road to the lock". No other work on bridges is recorded, although a list of those still to be built was given. They included three towpath bridges across streams falling into the canal at Aghoo and Creevy, which work could be done "at the same time the Lisnatullagh occupation⁷¹ bridge [was] being built". Also, the "temporary footbridge" at Skelan required conversion to a permanent structure (by the addition of strong larch piles as supports and a hand rail). It was thought that the Lisnatullagh bridge might be put up in a month.

1857 : The work on the Skelan footbridge was carried out as planned, as was the building of the Lisnatullagh bridge, complete with gates, fences and gravelled surface. The temporary bridge there was removed. Some repairs were carried out to the approach to the Derrymacoffin bridge. An accommodation bridge "for Mr King's tenants" was made at Kilclare.

1858 : One of the two arches of the *old* bridge at Ballinacor, on the northern bank, fell in December and soon afterwards the "high retaining wall of the new bridge⁷² at the same side gave way". Stones from both of them rolled into the canal and were removed by hand dredger. An accommodation bridge was erected over the stream flowing to St John's Lough from Moodri-keen Lough. It was also reported that "wing walls, with low parapets of dry masonry" were built to "complete" the Drumany bridge, built in 1849.

1859 : Accommodation bridges were built over the Derryginney stream, the Bunerky drain, and the new cut at Ballymagovern. The approaches to the bridge at Lisnatullagh were raised. An accommodation bridge was erected over Corraphort drain, and a "pass" was made over the Muckros drain. The "townland road

70 This was reported built in 1854, but as the Report for a given year was not actually written till as late as April of the following year it is possible that work actually carried out after 31 December was attributed to the preceding year.

71 i.e. Accommodation.

72 Built apparently in 1855.

bridge" over the main channel at Drumany was repaired, as were the retaining walls of Kilclare Bridge. The back drain at Lock No. 13, Newbrook, had an accommodation bridge erected over it, and two similar bridges were erected over the Bellanaboy drain.

LOCKS

For ease of reference the locks are dealt with in numerical order, i.e. from the Erne to the Shannon.

Lock No. 1 : Caroul This was built by 1849 at the latest and was in a fit state to receive the gates. By 1850 the upper gates had been framed but the lower ones had not been made as it was likely that the sill of the lock might be altered. In 1852 the gates were finished and hung, and the regulating weir was half built. Stone had been prepared for finishing the weir. Work on the latter was continued in April 1853 and was completed at the year's end. The large sluice and fish pass were completed then too. In 1855 floods caused leakage through the weir and the trouble was cured. The gearing for raising the lock sluices was set and adjusted in 1856, and the weir sluices were also reported in position. But the pressure of water on the latter, as well as the friction of the gears of the machinery for opening them, was so high that Farrell feared that the sluices would not be very useful in relieving floods without interference with traffic on the canal. Some damage was caused to the weir in 1857, "most probably by a large cot (used by Lord Erne's tenantry for crossing the deviation cut at Dernagore) which was carried away during a flood".

Lock No. 2 : Ballyconnell Again, the masonry was completed by 1849, as was the weir, except for a small gap left for unwatering "the upper Works". The gates were framed in 1850 but were not fitted then or in 1851 because the work at Ballyconnell required the diversion of all the river flow through the lock chamber while the old river course was being deepened. The gates were hung in 1852 and the regulating sluices below the Ballyconnell weir were completed. In 1853 stone was quarried in readiness for building the large sluice and fish pass at the weir. A leakage at the lock was repaired in 1856 and the sluices were fitted in the masonry of the weir. Some minor repairs were carried out in 1857 and the stops were put in the fish pass.

Lock No. 3 : Skelan Not until 1852 was stone got ready for the lock and weir. In that year, too, the excavation for the lock-pit and weir-base was completed. In 1853 large amounts of mat-

erials were reported as ready but no construction was done till September 1854. By the end of that year the walls were about 4 ft above the springing of the invert. Progress was fairly rapid then, and it was reported in 1855 that the lock, weir and fish pass were finished. The lock gates were up and the sluice gearing set; in addition, "timber to raise the level of the water behind the weir, for the navigation to Aghoo" was put in place. In 1856 it was stated that the timber "topping" would require adjustment to make it easily movable when floods occurred.⁷³ The stops were put in the fish pass in 1857, and it was noted that the new footbridge would facilitate the raising and lowering of the regulating boards at the top of the weir. In 1858 "it was found necessary to protect the gravel bank below Skelan lock, which was liable to being cut away during floods, and a breast wall for its protection [was] nearly completed".

Lock No. 4 : Aghoo Although it was noted in 1850 that nearly all the materials were ready for the lock and weir, no construction work was done until 4 years later. By the end of 1854 the weir, with the sluice and fish pass, were half built. However, little progress had been made on the lock, as it had proved very difficult to get a foundation. The bottom was very open gravel and in wintertime it was virtually impossible to unwater the site. Nonetheless good progress was made in 1855 and the lock was completed; all except the weir sluices were ready. The installation of the lower gates had been a very difficult job and again there was trouble in trying — at great expense — to unwater the place. A flood on 26 October 1855 burst the unwatering dam at Lisnatullagh and even when the latter was repaired it was necessary to put men to work hand pumps to supplement those worked by horses owned both by the Board of Works and local people.⁷⁴ The weir sluices and lifting gear were installed in 1856. In the next year the stops were put in the fish pass.

Lock No. 5 : Ardrum Materials were also ready for this lock and weir in 1850. The lock, which was half built in 1851, was completed in 1852, as was the 150 ft long regulating weir. The lock gates were in place too. The sluices were put in the weir in 1856, and the stops in the fish pass in 1857.

⁷³ That it was necessary to resort to such a device is rather a reflection of the inability of the construction people to attain a sufficient depth for navigation by excavation and dredging.

⁷⁴ Mulvany had these screw pumps made (except for the castings) at Belturbet at a cost of £936 for 21 pumps. They were much cheaper and more efficient than manual pumps and were used on both the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell and Lough Oughter works.

Lock No. 6 : Ballinamore This lock was nearly built in 1849. The regulating weir (except for the sluice) was finished in 1850 though the lock seems to have been still incomplete. It was finished in 1851 and the upper gates were hung; the other gates were ready and were installed in 1852. The weir was repaired in 1855 and was fitted with sluices and gearing in the following year. The fish pass does not appear to have been built till 1859.

Lock No. 7 : Ballyduff Once again there was a long delay between the time the materials were ready for the lock and weir (1850) and the time construction began (1853); "preparations" were still being made in 1852. Work started on the lock, which had a 10 ft lift, in May 1853 and was just completed at the end of the year. The upper gates were hung and the lower pair ready. The lock was soon finished, as were the 100 ft by 11 ft high weir, large sluice and fish pass. The weir was fitted with a timber top (as at Skelan) and it likewise required adjustment in 1856.

Lock No. 8 : Castlefore The 100 ft long regulating weir was built in 1852. Work started on the lock in August 1853 and was not quite complete at the end of the year. The contractor started to build the gates in December of that year and early in 1854 the lock was finished and the gates hung.

Locks Nos. 9, 10 and 11 : Kilclare; No. 12 : Lisconnor; No. 13 : Newbrook; No. 14 : Sheffield; No. 15 : Killarcan; No. 16 : Leitrim The Reports do not differentiate between the different locks on the still-water canal section. These were of different construction to those mentioned previously,⁷⁵ and they did not have regulating weirs or fish passes. One of the eight was under construction in 1849 and materials had been left at the sites of the others. At the end of 1850 the masonry of four locks was completed and two were about to begin construction. It was expected that all would be built by May 1851 and all were reported finished at the end of that year. It was planned in 1852 that the making and installation of the lock gates should take place in the following year, so evidently nothing had been done in that year. The contractor began the task of making the gates in April 1853 and all were made and hung by October.⁷⁶ Only the hand rails and the lifting gear for the sluices remained to be installed. This job was reported done in 1854.

⁷⁵ The locks on the river sections of the navigation were all "constructed in the usual way for river navigations by means of short side cuts with weirs controlling the main stream". (Delany, loc. cit.).

⁷⁶ Then the canal would have been navigable from the Shannon to the summit level.

LOCK HOUSES

The contract date for the completion of the lock houses was 1 July 1857 but in 1856 it was anticipated that this deadline could not be met. The contractors were delayed by bad weather, by additional foundation work, and by the difficulty of getting tradesmen. Farrell's Report for 1857 contained an interesting passage

Though the works of masonry in the district [have] collected a number of masons, yet, as the mason-work of the canal had been finished some time before the lock-houses were commenced, the men had left the country, and not more than five masons out of the great number that had been collected on the several works could be got by the lock-house contractors. As the building of places of worship and of private houses has much increased in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan within the last few years, the number of tradesmen employed on the lock-houses was constantly varying, and the class of contractors that tendered for the houses being poor, a regular staff of workmen would not remain with them; this has caused much delay, and great difficulty in getting the work fairly done.

As some locks were fairly close to each other the number of lock houses could be reduced. In all there were eight — at Caroul, Ballyconnell, Skelan, Aghoo, Ballinamore, Castlefore, Lisconnor and Killarcan.

Caroul This was referred to as a "Collector's House",⁷⁷ and the excavation for the foundations was done in May 1857. The walls were built in September and at the end of the year the job was complete, though the roof slates needed repairing. It was noted in 1855 that "all the rubble stone that was piled in Ballyconnell quarry [was] drawn down to the wharf and lock [at Ballyconnell] for the masonry of the lock-houses to be erected there and Caroul".

Ballyconnell The lock house, which was situated about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the lock, was started in March 1857. It was roofed in June and floored in September. The "ground attached to the lock-house" was fenced in 1859.

Skelan The masonry work was commenced in March 1857 and the roof was built in June. The carpentry and floor tiling was done by November.

⁷⁷ So also was that at Killarcan, because the navigation tolls were collected at these terminal points.

Aghoo The site was laid out for the contractors in 1856. In the following year the foundations were made between 4 and 5 feet below the level of the lock coping. The masonry was begun in July but was not completed at the end of 1857. There is no further reference to progress.

Ballinamore This site was also prepared in 1856 and late in that year spoil was being removed from it by the contractor. The work was completed in February 1857 "so as to leave 30 feet from the centre of the road to the front wall of the house, as required by Act of Parliament". Masonry work began in March, and the carpentry and the rendering of the roof was reported complete in October.

Castlefore Again the site was prepared in 1856. The foundations were built in May 1857. The house was slated in August, the doors, floors and windows were fitted in September, and the roof was rendered and the floor tiled in October.

Lisconnor In 1856 the site was laid out and part of the foundations made, but the work was hindered by bad weather at the end of the year and was not completed till February 1857. However, "advantage [was] taken when the overseer was not present to throw stones, loosely, without mortar, into the foundations, and the necessary alteration to render [them] secure occupied some time". By August the masonry was finished and the roof slated. The carpentry and tiling was complete by October 1857.

Killarcan Bad weather late in 1856 likewise interfered with work on the site of the "Collector's House". In February 1857 the excavation of the foundations began and in March the masonry was in progress. The roofing and slating were done in August and the carpenter's work was almost completed at the end of the year.

OTHER WORKS

In 1849 stone was prepared for building a wharf at Ballyconnell. One was built, just below the road bridge, in 1850, in which year a wharf was built at Ballinamore, "just below the river bridge and in a convenient site as regards the market house". The same year saw the building of the third wharf — at Leitrim, on the Shannon side of the road bridge. All were provided with stone mooring posts.

In 1851 it was reported that a set of sluices and an eel fishery had been erected to regulate the level in that part of the river which flowed through Ballyconnell Demesne, and "to com-

pensate for an eel fishery which had been removed".

The 1850 Report stated that the mills had been "extensively altered and improved" at Ballyconnell, and that two new water wheels had been erected with suitable gearing "to connect them with the works of the mills". It was claimed that the power was "fully three times as great as that of the old wheels" and that much less water was used. In 1854 part of the old foundation and front wall of the cornmill gave way suddenly in March, "carrying with it some of the new work and interfering with the waterwheel and machinery erected by the Commissioners in 1851 (sic) and which had been working very satisfactorily since that time". From April till June the water flow was diverted from the mill and all the damage was repaired, the work including "the rebuilding of the front wall from a secure foundation and the whole height of the mill". In November 1858 a leakage into the wheelcase of the cornmill was stopped.

In 1850, as a result of the alteration of the levels of the head and tail water of Ballinamore Mill, the "works" of the mill were lowered by 4 ft 6 in. But the work must not have been done too well as, at the 1851 Leitrim Summer Assizes, the mill proprietor took an action against the Board of Works. Although he "considered himself aggrieved by the alteration made in his mill" the case was thrown out on a technical point. The Board of Works decided in 1854 to "purchase the water power" of the mills at Ballinamore and Kilclare. Exorbitant sums were demanded and the matter was referred to an arbitrator who had not made his award by the end of the year. But the matter was settled afterwards and the Board would seem to have purchased, or at least rented, the Ballinamore mill. Their use for it is referred to below. In 1857 a notice was served on the miller at Kilclare to restrain him from using the water-supply for working his mill, "as it had been purchased by the Board". Thereafter the miller did not use the water.

WORKSHOPS

The establishment of the workshops at Belturbet in 1850 has been discussed already. In later years the shops proved an invaluable asset to both the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell and Lough Oughter districts. Pumps, lock gates, mill fittings, accommodation bridges and so on were all made there in quite considerable amounts. One of the busiest years was 1852, when the shops turned out such diverse items as dredging equipment for three barges for the Lough Oughter district, an iron lattice bridge (43 ft span with 12 ft roadway) for the Longford district, and iron fittings for lock gates on the Ballinamore canal. Undoubtedly the piece-de-resistance was a "large steam dredger

for the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell district".⁷⁸ This vessel, which was 80 ft long, with a beam of 15 ft 6 in, was launched and fitted with "a steam engine, boiler and other machinery" and was nearly ready for work at the end of 1852. It was accompanied by two "scows, or tenders", 48 ft by 15 ft, and "an anchor boat"; it commenced work at Mullynacoagh and Killynick in August 1853.

Not so much work was done in the Belturbet workshops in 1854, but many useful pieces of equipment were produced, including parts of sluices and locks, as well as buckets for the dredger. The workshops were closed in April 1856. Apparently by then their main function was to service the steam dredger, which in 1856 was being used well up the canal. Accordingly, the Ballinamore mill was fitted up as a blacksmith's shop and store, and it was suggested later that the steam dredger be laid up at Ballinamore when idle, "where there is a wharf and a store".⁷⁹ In 1857 work on the canal by the dredgers⁸⁰ ceased when it was decided that they should move to the Lough Oughter district. In July 1857, as a result of this decision, the tools and fittings were removed from Ballinamore.⁸¹ In point of fact, both dredgers did not go straightaway to Lough Oughter, as the steam dredger was lent to the Londonderry & Enniskillen Railway Company(!) "to have some dredging work done near Enniskillen".

The dredgers were sent back to the canal early in June 1858 and the Ballinamore mill was again fitted up as a blacksmith's shop. "Several burst plates in the hull of [dredger C were] replaced with new plates". The steam dredgers presumably remained at Ballinamore and were serviced from the mill for the rest of the construction period.

THE TOWPATH

By 1854 the fencing of the towpath was recorded as being in progress in various parts of the district, but no further details were given. The careful provision of a towpath is interesting considering the fact that the lakes included in the course of the navigation definitely precluded the passage of a boat which was without means of self-propulsion.

1855 : Some 120 perches of a stone "towing-path" fence were built below Ballinamore, and 600 perches made between there and St John's Lough. Four towpath bridges were built between Aghoo and Creevy.

78 This was the "steam dredger" mentioned in the account of the construction.

79 This store, presumably, was the mill.

80 Dredger C had arrived by this time.

81 Where the fittings went to is not stated.

1856 : 50 perches of stone fence and 300 perches of clay fence were made along the towpath near Aghoo. A clay mound, "as a base for a wire fence", was made for some distance in the Drumrane reach, while a stone fence was built nearer Ballinamore and right up to the town.

1857 : In the Comogue reach a wire fence was erected in the gaps between the stone fences previously made, and "a great portion of the towing-path, where gravel was near at hand, [was] gravelled". At Aghoo some wire fence was put up and the towpath was stated to have been "formed" and "gravelled in places". The wire fence was put in at Drumrane, of which region the Report noted that "much damage had been committed by cattle breaking down the fences to get water; and the Board directed that watering slips should be made in convenient places inside the fence, with a pipe to convey the water to them". At Creevy a clay base for a wire fence was made in the soft bank in the Ballyduff direction. A wire fence was made along almost the whole of the Drumany reach in January and February. All the reach had been "gravelled from the abundance of clean gravel found in spoil heaps" along it. The towpath below Castlefore Bridge was made "of sufficient width" and a fence made between it and the road. The towpath was gravelled to Lough Marrave, and the section of it between "the high road bridge at Kilclare and Lock No. 12" (Lisconnor) was covered with broken stone. It was also reported that the towpath was "formed across the Black Lough, and a covering of cross spars resting on split sleepers [was] put on it". The coping of the fence wall at Leitrim Fair Green, ordered to be done in February, was completed.

1858 : Gravel from the navigation channel above Aghoo Lock was "used to form the inclined towpath from Aghoo Bridge". The towpath was gravelled the whole way from Lisnatullagh to Ballinamore, a length of about 50 perches excepted. The towpath bridges at Sheffield and Killarcan were repaired.

1859 : Gravelling and fencing of the towpath was reported to be complete from Garadice to Ballinamore. A stone fence wall was built along the Fohera drain to prevent trespass, and 26 perches of fence wall were built below the regulating weir of Ballyduff Lock. The fence walls at Killarcan and Kilclare were repaired. About 400 perches of the towpath in the Killarcan region were gravelled.

NAVIGATION MARKERS

1856 : "A large quantity of larch poles, for marking out the

channel through the several lakes" was delivered at Skelan. More were left at Aghoo Lock.

1857 : The navigation "beacons" were in position through Coologe, Derrycassan, Ballymagovern, Garadice and St John's lakes.

1858 : Additional beacons were put up "to mark more particularly" the course from one lake to another at all the above mentioned places. Presumably the course through Lough Scur was also indicated by markers although there is no reference to this lake in the present context.

C : CONCLUSION

In view of the fact, already recorded, that dredger C made a through passage from Leitrim to the Erne in August 1857 — the trip indicating that the canal was navigable throughout — and also of the other boats using the canal in 1858, the reader may wonder why the construction period is regarded in this paper as extending to 1859/60. One reason is that some minor jobs still had to be done in these years, but the primary reason is that, under the multitude of Acts which governed the work, the first phase was not officially over until the Commissioners of Public Works made their Final Award.

In the case of the Ballinamore & Ballyconnell project two such awards were made — one for drainage and one for navigation, the districts once more being regarded as separate entities. The awards were made on 6 March 1860 and 10 January 1869, respectively. The former is incidental to the present topic, while a discussion of the latter properly belongs to the second part of this history. But the total cost of the canal works may be quoted from it. The figure was £228,651-10-5.⁸² Also of relevance now is Schedule B, annexed to the Award. This set out the details of the navigation works :

The Works executed in the [Ballinamore & Ballyconnell] District, the maintenance whereof as works of navigation is to be vested in and undertaken by the Ballinamore and Ballyconnell Navigation Trustees appointed under and by virtue of the Act, 19 & 20 Vict., c. 62, [are] :

The navigation channel from Lough Erne to the River Shannon; 15 navigation locks, length of chamber from recess to recess, 82 feet, width between the uprights, 16 feet 6 inches, and the depth of water on the sills,

⁸² The drainage works cost £53,509-4-2, giving a total of £284,160-14-7, a figure not too greatly at variance with the cumulative total quoted in Table 3.

5 feet 6 inches; 8 regulating weirs, with waste sluices and fish passes; the overflow near Killarcan Bridge; the wharves at Ballyconnell, Ballinamore and Leitrim, and the approaches thereto; the navigation bridges at Ballinamore, Castlefore, Scrabbagh, Drumruckill, Sheffield, Killarcan and Leitrim; the Collectors' and Lock-keepers' houses; the guide posts through the lakes; the towing path, fences and bridges.⁸³

By this formal declaration the Commissioners of Public Works handed over control of the specified works to Trustees who henceforth would have the duties of management and maintenance; the Commissioners had no further responsibility and the detailed Reports come to a sudden stop after 1859. From 10 January 1860 the canal was open for traffic, which, as will be discussed in a future issue, was negligible by any standards. But the long period of inception and construction was at last over — a watershed had been reached.

D : ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of the research for this paper was carried out in the National Library of Ireland, and a great debt is due to the officials there. Thanks are also due to Very Rev. F. J. McKiernan and Mr P. Quinn, whose help and hospitality are greatly appreciated. Dr. D. B. McNeill likewise gave much assistance. Prof H. Power generously read the manuscript and offered invaluable advice on technical and constructional matters. That the paper was ever finished for publication is very largely due to Mrs Mary Power, who typed the manuscript. Thanks are also due to her and to Prof Power for their many kindnesses.

APPENDIX

1 : Personnel

Forsyth, William	Supervising engineer; wrote Reports 17 and 28.
Mulvany, T. J.	District Engineer (Belturbet); supervised work in Ballinamore & Ballyconnell district; wrote Reports 18 - 23 incl.
Farrell, Martin	Resident Engineer (Belturbet); was in charge of Lough Oughter works and, from end of 1854, also of B'more & B'connell district. Wrote Reports 24-27 incl. Died October 1859.
Armstrong, Robert	Resident Engineer (Ballyconnell); in Ballyconnell area almost from start; died October 1854.
Leonard, ?	Resident Engineer (Ballinamore); took over the Ballyconnell region as well on death of Armstrong, but resigned at end of 1854 to take up a post in India.
Matthews, Thomas	Overseer (Lough Erne — Coologe section).
McKenna, Andrew	Overseer (Skelan — St John's Lough section).
Quigly, John	Overseer (St John's Lough — Shannon section).

⁸³ Features not listed belong to the drainage works. However, the mention of only 15 locks is a mystery still unsolved.

2 : Statistics of Construction

Year	Length of Rivers/Drains opened	Number of man-days in year	Average men at work daily	Excavation Rock and Earthwork	Stone Quarried & Dressed
	miles	days	men	cubic yds.	cubic feet
1846	43½	88,250	n.a.	536,741	n.a.
1847	39½	213,060	n.a.	624,982	n.a.
1848	nil	292,835	n.a.	454,101	n.a.
1849	3½	438,271	1,646	406,103	n.a.
1850	4½	426,960	1,515	318,380	106,641
1851	4½	385,268	1,389	229,289	62,557
1852	6	251,794	906	223,029	49,428
1853	3½	145,619	514	156,924	29,601
1854	3½	113,613	399	130,923	10,590
1855	½	91,822	294	76,764	n.a.
1856	2	53,435	176	65,869	n.a.
1857	nil	43,536	140	75,682	n.a.
1858	½	19,663	n.a.	16,361	n.a.
1859	1	16,591	n.a.	11,504	n.a.

n.a. : figures not available

3 : Locks

No.	Name	Approx. dis. from Erne	Lockhouse built	Lock built	Remarks	Weir built
1	Caroul	5½ miles	1857	1849-52	Rising	1852-3
2	Ballyconnell	7½ miles	1857	1849-52	Rising	1849-53
3	Skelan	12½ miles	1857	1854-5	Rising	1854-5
4	Aghoo	20½ miles	1857	1854-5	Rising	1854-5
5	Ardrum	21½ miles	none	1851-2	Rising	1851-2
6	Ballinamore	23½ miles	1857	1849-52	Rising	c. 1850
7	Ballyduff	25 miles	none	1853	Rising	1853
8	Castlefore	27½ miles	1857	1853-4	Rising	1852
9	Kilclaremore	*	none	1849-53+	Falling	none
10	Kilclaremore	*	none	1849-53+	Falling	none
11	Kilclaremore	*	none	1849-53+	Falling	none
12	Lisconnor	34½ miles	1857	1849-53+	Falling	none
13	Newbrook	34½ miles	none	1849-53+	Falling	none
14	Sheffield	35 miles	none	1849-53+	Falling	none
15	Killarcan	36 miles	1857	1849-53+	Falling	none
16	Leitrim	36½ miles	none	1849-53+	Falling	none

* : Flight of three adjacent locks; centre at 34 miles approx.

+ : All locks built in period stated — see text.

4 : Quays

Ballyconnell	Built 1850; above weir, on north side of road bridge.
Ballinamore	Built 1850; on limb of canal serving Market House.
Leitrim	Built 1850; $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Shannon, on west side of road bridge.

5 : Bridges

Site	Class	Built	Site	Class	Built
Aghalane	R.	By 1849	Drumany	A.	1849
Aghoo	R.	1852-3	Drumcong	R.	1853
Annagh Diversion	A.	1854	Kilclare	R.	1849-50
Ballinacor	R.	1855?	Kilclare	A.	1857
Ballinamore	R.	By 1849	Killyran	R.	1855
Ballyconnell	R.	By 1849	Kiltybarden	R.	1852
Ballyduff	R.	1849-50	Kiltybarden	A.	1854
Ballyheady	R.	1851-2	Leitrim	R.	1849-50
Ballymagovern	A.	1859	Letterfine	R.	1852
Carrickalease	A.	1855	Letterfine	A.	1853
Carrickmakeegan	A.	1855	Lisnatullagh	A.	1857
Castlefore	R.	1851-2	Newbrook	R.	1849-50
Derrinkip	A.	1855	Newbrook	A.	1859
Derrygoan	R.	1855	Sheffield	A.	1849
Derrymacoffin	A.	1854	Skelan	F.B.	1857

R : Road Bridge; A : Accommodation Bridge; F.B. : Footbridge.

Some minor bridges (and those built at undefined locations) are omitted from this summary list.

A Fourteenth-Century Coin-Find from County Cavan

by

Michael Dolley & Colm Gallagher

Through the kindness of Dr William O'Sullivan, M.R.I.A., the retiring Keeper of the Art & Industrial Division of the National Museum of Ireland, we are able here to put on record a small find of fourteenth-century English silver coins which came to light a whole generation ago. The seven coins, all of them pre-Treaty groats and half-groats of Edward III, were found by a woman setting potatoes in a field at a place called Kilnaglare in the townland of Cloverhill in Annagh parish, barony of Tullygarvey, Co. Cavan. A diligent search of the spot failed to produce more coins, and there was no trace of a container or of any associated material. In October 1935 the seven coins were purchased by the Irish Antiquities Division of the National Museum, and in June 1951, as part of a policy of rationalization, they were transferred to the Art & Industrial Division which includes the Royal Irish Academy's coin-cabinet. Kilnaglare, it may be added, lies some three miles south-east by east of Belturbet, and some seven miles almost due north of Cavan town.

The seven coins may be listed as follows:—

ENGLAND

EDWARD III

Fourth ('pre-Treaty') Coinage, 1351-1361

Groats

MINT OF LONDON

- 1) Lawrence class C, North 1147 65 grains (4.21 g.)
Top arches fleured, D.G. : no stops in reverse legend, *London civitas*.
- 2) Lawrence class E, North 1163 65 grains (4.21 g.)
Top arches unfleured : no stops in reverse legend, *civitas London*.

MINT OF YORK

- 3) Lawrence class E, North 1164 55 grains (3.56 g.)
 Top arches unfleured : *Eboraci civitas*.

Half-groats

MINT OF LONDON

- 4) Lawrence class C, North 1148 32 grains (2.07 g.)—chipped.
 (Fr)anci : *London civitas*.
- 5) Lawrence class C, North 1148 28 grains (1.81 g.)—chipped.
 Franc : *London civitas*.
- 6) Lawrence class E, North 1165 30 grains (1.94 g.)—chipped.
 Fraci : *London civitas*.
- 7) Lawrence class Ga, North 1201 32 grains (2.07 g.)
 Franc and annulet below bust : annulet in second heraldic
 quarter and *civitas London*.

The references are to the standard classification of the series worked out by the late L. A. Lawrence in his papers "The Coinage of Edward III from 1351" published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1926, 1929, 1932 and 1933, and subsequently brought together into one volume, and to the most convenient general text-book, J. J. North's *English Hammered Coinage* (Vol. II, London, 1960). Account has also been taken of two papers by W. J. W. Potter with the same title as Lawrence's which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1960 and 1962. Weights are to the nearest grain.

The damage to the half-groats appears to be entirely accidental, and the pieces generally evidence very little wear, the condition of the half-groat of Lawrence class Ga being virtually pristine. Only the York groat would seem to exhibit traces of deliberate clipping. It cannot well be doubted, then, that the coins were brought into Ireland and lost within a matter of years — the bracket of their striking extends over a period of not more than a quinquennium, and the oldest pieces could scarcely have been current for as much as a decade at the time of their loss. Significant in the context of a hoard from Breffny of this date must be the total absence of pence, English or Anglo-Irish, from the period after 1279. Against this background we are probably justified in suggesting that the hoard was lost not all that number of months after the import into Ireland of the latest coin. The piece in question is the London half-groat of Lawrence class Ga, and it is difficult to put its striking much later than 1356. It seems very plausible that the coins were

brought into Ireland either under Rokeby on the occasion of his reappointment in the autumn of that year, or under his successor, St Amand, who arrived in the late autumn of 1357. Both men, of course, belonged to the class of the "English by birth". That the coins are to be associated with the advent of the celebrated Lionel of Clarence in the early autumn of 1361 may seem unlikely in view of the absence of the not all that uncommon coins of Lawrence classes Gb - Gh, but is not impossible. All in all, though, the evidence does favour the view that the English coins of Lawrence classes Gb Gh, but is not impossible. All in cealed — or lost — before rather than after the Treaty of Brétigny, and it may be thought that a provisional date of deposition c. 1360 is one unlikely seriously to mislead. In the light of the Breffny provenance, too, a certain significance must attach to the circumstances that the coins are so little clipped. Not many more decades were to elapse and "O'Reilly's country" was to be the centre of a flourishing traffic in fabrications made possible only by the unparalleled degree of clipping of the English groat and half-groat which circulated freely over the mear- ing in Co. Meath.

Possessors of annotated copies of the *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* (London, 1956) will doubtless wish to take a note of this find which is one quite unusual in an Irish context, and to facilitate this there is offered the following summary in a slightly modified *Inventory* format: —

CLOVERHILL, Annagh, Co. Cavan.

Spring 1935 (?)

7 AR English

Deposit : c. 1360

Edward III : *coinage of 1351-1361* — London : Groats, Lawrence gp. C, 1; gp. E, 1. Half-groats, Lawrence gp. C, 2; gp. E, 1; gp. Ga, 1. York : Groat, Lawrence gp. E, 1.

M. Dolley & C. Gallagher, *Breifne*, III, 11 (1968), pp. 386-8.

Disposition, National Museum of Ireland. The coins were found in a field at a spot called Kilnaglare. There was no container.

Timothy Godwin, Bishop of Kilmore

It is an unexpected pleasure to come across a reference to a Bishop of Kilmore in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Such a reference occurs in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 48 — the second of the 18 volumes devoted to St John Chrysostom. The illustrious Benedictine editor, Montfaucon, in making acknowledgement to those who helped him prepare his monumental edition of Chrysostom (Paris 1718) which is incorporated in Migne, says that in England his chief indebtedness was to John Potter, Bishop of Oxford. (Potter is still well known for his work on Clement of Alexandria). And Montfaucon goes on :

Neque tacendus vir amicissimus et eruditissimus Timotheus Godwinus, Episcopus Kilmorensis, qui mihi et opem et benevolentiam illustrissimi Potteri conciliavit, neque cessat commodis meis advigilare. (I must also thank the genial and learned Timothy Godwin, Bishop of Kilmore, who obtained the kind collaboration of the illustrious Potter and was tireless in his attention to my needs.)

— PG 48. *Praefatio*, xxiii.

Godwin is styled *eruditissimus* by one of Europe's foremost scholars, and mentioned in the same breath as Bentley, Potter and Fabricius — it was certainly a field day for Kilmore and an early example of productive ecumenism.

Thomas Halton.

The Bailieborough Estate

by

William G. Coleman

The Bailieboro Estate, as it came to be known, was in existence for almost three hundred years. In 1610 William Baylie was granted 1,000 acres called *the smalle proporcion of Tonnergie*.¹ This estate included a much larger area as only a small portion of these lands had been reclaimed and the grant included only arable land.

Baylie accepted the estate on the conditions that he would within two years commence building a suitable house on the lands of Tonnergie and hold 300 acres in demesne. The lease of the undertaking was forever subject to the annual payment of £5-6-8 if he planted with Scottish tenants and £8 if with the native Irish. He was to erect a bawn or stronghold for the protection of cattle, build houses for his tenants near the castle for mutual protection, and further to store six muskets, six blunderbusses and to arm twelve men for defence. The lands were to be cleared of the natives during the spring of 1611 and to be ready for occupation by the undertaker who was to arrive during the summer. Carew's report issued in the autumn states :

Baillie had not arrived and the natives are still in possession.²

The undertaker arrived sometime later in the year with tenants, cattle, horses and household provisions.

In 1619 there were two freeholders and four leaseholders, and in all ten families containing 28 men capable of bearing arms.³ In the 1622 Survey of Cavan there were

planted and estated upon this land of British Birth . . . 2 Fee Farmers, 7 leaseholders for 21 years . . . and 3 cottagers . . . In toto 12 families besides 10 servants and kinsmen, who appeared before us with Armes vizt. 6 peeces, 6 pikes, 10 Horsemen's staves.⁴

Many new settlers arrived during the next ten years including several members of the undertaker's family. In April 1627 Edward Baillie received a grant of Corlattercarroll, Tuberluam, Nowlagh and Cornargon for his natural life, the life of his wife and his son John Baillie.

1 Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, p. 309; also *Breifne* (1958), Vol. I, No. 1, p. 62.

2 *Calendar S.P. Carew* (1611), p.79.

3 Pynnar's Survey in Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 456; C.S.P. Carew, p. 393.

4 *Breifne*, 1958, pp. 62-3.

In 1628 the King wrote to Viscount Falkland :

At the humble request of our well-known beloved subject, Robert Baillie, gentleman, we are graciously pleased, in consideration of service done and to be done, to give and to grant unto the said Robert, his heirs and assigns forever, the three poles of land called and known by the name of Drummone, Drummacharow and Corlorgan, near the property of Toneregie, in the Barony of Clonchy, in the county of Cavan.⁵

In 1629 the castle was then completed and known as the "Manor of Bailieborrowe"; it was well fortified and approved by the commission. Many more settlers had arrived and taken land generally on leases for 21 years. The two exceptions were James and Edward Baillie, who received leases forever. The other leaseholders were as follows :

John Stephenson, Aghnellan;
John Baillie, Lear, Pottle and part of Lisgar;
James Teate, Drumbenan;
David Barbour, Tonnerigie;
Gilbert Cuthbertson, John Hamilton and Wm Rae, Lettre;
Walter Miller, Trougher.⁶

The following natives were yearly tenants :

Edmund Duffe O'Reilly : the lands of Dromburne Dromlume;
Mulmore McBryan O'Reilly : the lands of Lisgar;
Cole O'Reilly : part of the lands of Drombynis called Gar-
tenan;
Shane McGill Martin : the lands of Lisballagh;
Owen More McShane McCleerie : the lands of Terenemuck-
lagh and a portion of Pottle;
Edward McGargan : the lands of Tomregie called Cavan-
cross also part of Rakenan;
Bryan O'Reilly : the lands of Kilcolkie and Faherny;
Farrel McPhilip O'Reilly : the lands of Dromkeragh;
Walter Tweedy : the lands of Dromenary adjoining Litry.⁷

Towards the latter part of the seventeenth century the estate passed by marriage to the Hamiltons and during the eighteenth century the Hamiltons sold it to a Colonel Stewart.⁸ From a report in *The Highlands of Cavan*, published in 1856, it appears that the Stewarts were good landlords. They charged from four to ten shillings an acre rent and treated their tenants humanely. The author, the Rev. Randall McCollum, recalled

⁵ C.S.P.I., 1628, p.329

⁶ *Inquisitionum . . . Reportorium*, vol. II, Co. Cavan, Caroli I, n.17;

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ cf. Snoddy, "Notes on the Volunteers" etc., p. 320.

stories of Mr Stewart's kindness and charity which were in marked contrast to other landlords of the time.

On the death of old Mr Stewart the estate passed to a relation, a Mr Stewart Corry of Rockcorry, and he sold it to Colonel, afterwards Sir William Young on his return from the East Indies.⁸ Sir William died 10 March 1848 and the estate passed to his son, Sir John Young, created Lord Lisgar on 2 November 1870.⁹ From 1855 to 1872 he spent most of his time abroad and left the running of the estate to his agent, Thomas Chambers. However, he still took an interest in his tenants. In 1856 when his agent wrote to him in the Ionian Islands about a dispute with a tenant, Lord Lisgar wrote back : "In all cases where a doubt exists, the benefit of the doubt is to be given to the tenant."¹⁰ Lord Lisgar died on 6 October 1876 and Lady Lisgar died on 19 July 1895. After her death there were meetings of the tenants about buying out their holdings and after some years it was announced that the estate would be sold. Catalogues, etc., were prepared giving full particulars of the holdings under the following heading :

8 Shaw-Mason, *Parochial Survey*, Dublin 1814, pp. 142, 146; *Freeman's Journal*, 1 March 1815; cf. *Breifne*, 1962, p. 16.

9 John Young (1807-76) was M.P. for co. Cavan from 1831 to 1835. He distinguished himself in parliament as a Secretary of the Treasury under Sir Robert Peel from 1841 to 1844 and by his active support of the Conservative leader in the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. With the split of the Conservatives on this measure, he became a prominent member of the Peelites and when these joined the Liberals in the Aberdeen ministry in 1852 he was appointed Chief Secretary to Ireland with his office in Dublin Castle and residence in the Vice-regal Lodge. In 1855 he resigned to become successively High Commissioner of the Ionian Isles, governor of New South Wales and governor-general of Canada. He was created a peer as Baron Lisgar in 1870. In 1835 he married Adelaide Annabella Dalton, daughter of Edward Tuite Dalton and Olivia Stevenson (who in 1822 on the death of Edward Dalton married the Marquis of Headford) and sister of Gustavus Tuite Dalton who was associated with the beginnings of the *Anglo-Celt*. He died without issue; the title Baron Lisgar became extinct but the baronetcy which he interited from his father devolved on his nephew, William Muston Need Young. cf. Burke, *Peerage and Baronetage*, 1909 ed., p. 1921.

10 The author saw this in manuscript letters which were sold some years ago to the Greek Government.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE IN IRELAND
 CHANCERY DIVISION — LAND JUDGES
 COUNTY OF CAVAN
 SALE ON WEDNESDAY, 14th NOVEMBER, 1900
 IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF
 PHILIP WITHAM HENRY MILLS AND AMELAIA DORA M.
 MILLS

TRUSTEES FOR SALE UNDER THE WILL AND CODICIL OF
 ADELAIDE ANNABELLA BARONESS LISGAR, OWNERS;
 EXPARTE GEORGE LINDSAY HALFORD AND THE RIGHT
 HONORABLE ALBERT EDMOND EARL OF MORLEY
 PETITIONERS;

THE BAILIEBOROUGH ESTATE
 TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION
 BEFORE THE HONORABLE MR JUSTICE ROSS
 AT HIS COURT, LAND JUDGES, INNS QUAY, IN THE CITY OF
 DUBLIN, ON WEDNESDAY, THE 4th DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1900
 AT TWELVE O'CLOCK NOON.¹¹

The bidding was so brisk that Mr Justice Ross humorously
 remarked, "Baillieborough must be a Klondike".

THE LEASES

In all there are eighty-one leases belonging to the part of
 the Baillieborough Estate which is now the town of Baillieborough,
 for the years 1824-1899. They are on parchment measuring $23\frac{1}{2}$ "
 x 17", folded at the bottom with signatures and seals. There is
 usually a map of the tenement on the side and of the farm on
 the outside, with the names of the neighbouring occupiers. The
 indenture is on a form specially printed for Sir William Young,
 with spaces left to write in a description of the tenement or
 farm, the name of the tenant and the names of the three lives
 for which the lease was given, the amount of rent and any other
 special conditions attached to the lease. All these leases ran
 according to a set formula and although usually printed specially
 for each landlord, they all contained much the same coven-
 ants and agreements. Even in modern legal books, the forms
 for leases contain many of the clauses in these leases.¹²

The first item on the indenture was the date it was made,
 and then the name of the landlord who granted the lease. For
 nos. 1-13 it was Sir William Young; for nos. 14-24 it was John
 Young and William Donnelly; (Sir William Young was a party
 to nos. 16 and 20-22). John Young is the same Sir John Young
 who granted nos. 25-40 and the same Lord Lisgar who granted
 nos. 41-55. Adelaide Annabella Dowager Baroness Lisgar granted
 the leases nos. 56-59 and 66-71, while the Most Hon. Thomas

11 The auction catalogue is in the possession of the author.

12 cf. Edge, *Forms of Leases and other Forms Relating to Land in
 Ireland*, c. XVIII, pp. 94 sq.

Marquis of Headfort, Sir Francis Fortescue Turville, of the first part and Adelaide Annabella Baroness Lisgar, his wife, of the second part, granted nos. 60-65. No. 75 was granted by George Lindsay Holford and the Right Hon. Albert Edmund Earl of Morley of the first part and Amelia Dora Madeline Mills of the second part.

Next was the name of the person to whom the lease was given and a full description of the house and land and the exact position of each. Next followed the names of the three lives for which the lease was granted.¹³ The amount of rent was then given and if there was a receiver's fee (a shilling in the pound). In many of these leases there is a proviso reducing the rent to half if the lessee performs certain covenants. There is also a covenant by lessee "not to alter the premises or the uniformity of the street, under a penalty of ... per annum extra rent; within two years to build suitable out-offices under a further penalty of ... per annum additional rent and not to build any dwelling house in the rear, under a further penalty of . . . per annum additional rent."

The landlord reserved "all manner of Bog and Moss [or rights of turbary] upon any part of the said premises, together with all and all manner of Timber and other Trees whether above or under the ground thereon . . . and all Mines, Minerals and Quarries [or beds of stone] and all Royalties of what nature or kind soever, together with full and free liberty . . . to enter on any part of the said demised premises, and sink, dig for, raise, and carry away the same trespass free." He also reserved the right "to hunt, fish, hawk and fowl, on and over every part of the said premises", and also reserved "a road to be laid off . . . with full and free liberty to make and keep open such road or roads *twenty-one* feet in the clear."

The tenant was "to have and to hold the said premises . . . with the Rights, Members and Appurtenances thereto belonging . . . for the natural life and lives of" the three people mentioned. He was to pay a certain stated annual rent in two instalments in May and November. If he does not the landlord has the right to distrain for rent and arrears and if the Distress is not sufficient, then he has the right to re-enter and possess the estate.

Next followed the covenant where the lessee promised that he himself, "his Heir and Assigns, and their Undertenants and Cottiers, shall and will from time to time . . . on the customary Summons to him and them given, do Suit and Service to and at every Court Leet and Court Baron, or other Court that shall be from time to time held or kept in or for the said Manor of Bailieborough, and observe and obey all the Laws, Rules and Orders of said Courts respectively, and yield and pay the accus-

13 cf. O Mordha, *Breifne*, 1963, pp. 159 sq.

tomed fees thereof and all fines . . . which shall be assessed on them . . . and also pay the accustomed Head Money or Leet Silver. And also shall and will grind all his and their corn that shall grow or be used on the said premises . . . at such Mill or Mills within the said Manor of Bailieborough as the said Sir William Young . . . shall name direct or appoint for that purpose and shall there pay for the Mulcture and Grinding thereof, the usual and accustomed Toll." If the lessee failed in this, the fine was ten shillings for every barrel ground at any other mill.

The landlord or his nominee had the right to enter on the premises and examine them for neglect or omission in their upkeep, and view "Bounds, Fences, Walls, Buildings and Improvements". If the lessee failed to carry out necessary repairs, the landlord reserved the right to have them done and charged to lessee at next gale. The lessee covenanted to pay his rent as laid down, to keep the premises in good order together with "Timber, Trees, Hedges, Ditches, Fences, Ways, Passages and other Improvements which now are or hereafter shall be on the premises and at the end or sooner determination of this demise . . . to yield up same in sufficient order, repair, condition . . ."

The landlord covenanted, on the death of any one of the three lives mentioned or on the addition of a new name, provided the premises were in good repair, and all rent and arrears paid, to grant a continuance of the lease on payment of a renewal fine of five shillings. Provided the lessee observed all "these covenants, conditions, reservations, and agreements . . . he shall and may peaceably and quietly hold, use, occupy, possess and enjoy all the said premises . . . without any lawful let, suit, trouble, hindrance, interruption, molestation or disturbance whatsoever" from the landlord or any other person. At the bottom are the signatures and seals of the landlord and the lessee and the signatures of two witnesses.

1.

1 October 1824. To John Williamson¹⁴ of the town of Bailieborough "that dwelling house or tenement . . . together with the garden behind the same now in his possession, for the rent of £20, together with that farm or parcel of land in the townland of Rakeevin . . . 4a. 2r. 2p." . . . This lease is now held by Miss Violet Coleman, great-grand-niece of John Williamson, and includes two houses at present occupied by Mr Plunket Farrell and Mr Owen Farrell, Main Street.

¹⁴ On the Registry of freeholders for 1825, John Williamson is registered for £20 freehold in Rakeevin and Samuel Williamson for £20 freehold in Corlurgan cf *Breifne* (1962), Vol II, No. 5, p. 13, n. 23.

2.

4 October 1824. To Samuel Williamson¹⁴ for the lives of James McComb, third son of James McComb of Bailieborough, George Hunter, second son of John Hunter and William Chambers, third son of Thomas Chambers, all of Bailieborough, and renewable forever, a House and Garden in Bailieborough and 4a. 2r. 32p. of land in the townland of Rakeevin. Rent is £20. Samuel Williamson (1769-1854) was father of John Williamson (no. 1) and Edward Williamson (no. 47). It includes the two houses in Main Street, at present occupied by W. G. Coleman (great-great-grandson of Samuel Williamson) and Mr John Soden.

3.

18 June 1830. To John Parr for the lives of Richard Coote, Eyre Coote and Dawson Coote, sons of Charles Coote, and renewable forever, Rent is £12. These premises in Main Street are at present occupied by Mr Patrick Kangley.

4.

18 June 1830. To Henry Maxwell for three lives (as in no. 3), "the plot of ground in Market Street, and also part of the townland of Corkish, containing 5a. 2r. 22p. Rent is £40. This lease includes two houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mr William Coote and Mr Maxwell Montgomery.

5.

18 June 1830. To Walter Dancey for three lives (as in no. 3). Rent is £16. The lease includes two houses in Main Street, at present occupied by Mr James McCabe and Mr Francis Clarke.

6.

18 June 1830. To William Smith for three lives (as in no. 3). Rent is £18. This lease includes two houses in Market Square at present occupied by Mr Michael Brady and the C.Y.M.S.

7.

21 April 1831. To Henry Maxwell for three lives (as in no. 3). Rent is £22-2-0. This lease includes two houses in Market Square at present occupied by Miss Farrell and Mrs O'Brien and five houses in Thomas Street, two occupied by Mr John Birde, and three unoccupied.

8.

10 May 1832. To Charles James Adams, James Waring, John

Young Maxwell, James Boyle, and William Donnelly, Trustees on behalf of the Grand Jury of the County of Cavan. Rent for the Session House is £15. By a covenant the lessees are to expend within twelve months £400 in repairing and improving the Session House, and £800 in building a Bridewell. This is the present courthouse.

9.

1 January 1841. To James Moore for the lives of Her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness Prince Albert and Prince George William Frederick Charles, son of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and renewable forever. The rent is £6-5-4. This lease includes two houses in Adelaide Road, at present demolished.

10.

1 March 1841. To Richard Clarke for three lives (as in no. 9). Rent is £26-5-4. These premises in Main Street are at present occupied by Duffy Bros.

11.

4 March 1841. To Henry Dinning for three lives (as in no. 9). Rent is £16-4-0. This house is at present occupied by Mr Francis Keogan with the shop by Mr Charles Kellett.

12.

1841. To Robert Smith for three lives (as in no. 9). Rent is £6-16-4. This lease includes two houses in Adelaide Road at present occupied by Guard Mansell and Mr Barrie Earl.

13.

1841. To Benjamin Bell for three lives (as in no. 9). Rent is £7-1-4. This lease includes two houses in Adelaide Road, one occupied at present by Mr Edward Cavanagh and the other by Mr Cecil Foy.

14.

9 August 1845. To William Cowen for the lives of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, The Hon. Thomas Taylor, commonly called Lord Bective and the Right Hon Richard Lord Baron Cremorne. Rent is £11-14-0. Covenant to insure the premises for £400. These premises in Main Street are now occupied by Mr Patrick J. Higgins.

15.

8 August 1845. To Benjamin Armstrong, second part and William Cowen third part, for three lives (as in no. 14) and renewable for ever. The rent is £25-9-8. Covenant to insure the premises for £500. This lease includes two houses in Main Street, at present occupied by Mr Gerald O'Reilly and Kelly's Hotel.

16.

30 August 1845. To William James¹⁵ for the lives of the Queen, Prince Albert and Vere Belcher White, the sixth son of the Reverend Patrick White of Corglass. Rent is £11-1-6. Covenant to insure the premises for £200. These premises in Main Street are at present occupied by Mrs Carrie.

17.

2 January 1846. To Thomas Argue for the lives of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and the Prince of Wales and renewable forever. The rent is £15-15-0. Covenant to insure for £300. These premises in Main Street were for many years known as Argue's Hotel or the Adelaide Hotel (after the wife of Sir John Young). cf. *The Highlands of Cavan*. They are at present occupied by Mr Thomas Tierney.

18.

5 January 1846. To Edward Mahood for three lives (as in no. 17). Rent is £10-14-8. These premises are at present occupied by Mr James McKeon.

19.

5 January 1846. To John Mahood for three lives (as in no. 17). Rent is £10-14-8. Covenant to insure for £300. These premises in Main Street are occupied by Mr John Moore and Mr John James McCleary.

20.

2 March 1846. To Stewart Chambers for three lives (as in no. 17). Rent is £3-18-0. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. This lease includes two houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mr Patrick O'Reilly and Miss Rose Sullivan.

15 cf. *Breifne* (1964) Vol II, no. 7, p. 309 for a lengthy note on the James family of Corkish from which the American novelist Henry James and the philosopher William James were descended.

21.

18 August 1847. To Stewart Chambers and Thomas Chambers for three lives (as in no. 17) renewable forever. Rent £13-17-4. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. This premises in Market Square is at present occupied by Mr James Sheanon.

22.

18 August 1847. To Stewart Chambers and Andrew Chambers for three lives (as in no. 17) renewable forever. Rent £31-17-4. Covenant to insure for £300. This lease includes two houses in Market Square, occupied by Mrs P. F. Cooney and Mr Michael Brady.

23.

1 October 1847. To Thomas Chambers for three lives (as in no. 17) renewable forever. Rent £8. This premises in Barrack Street is occupied by Mr Richard Murray.

24.

1 November 1847. To the Commissioners of National Schools in Ireland for three lives (as in no. 17) renewable forever. Covenant to insure the premises for £400. Proviso that if the premises are used for three years for any purpose other than a National School, the landlords shall have power to re-enter and pay compensation for the value of the buildings; and a covenant on the part of the lessors to renew forever on payment of a peppercorn fine. This premises is Bailieborough District Model National School.

25.

17 June 1852. To William Dinning for three lives (as in no. 17), renewable forever. Rent £37-4-0. Covenant to insure the premises for £500. These premises in Main Street were for many years known as the Lisgar Arms Hotel and owned by Mr John Cochrane brother of Sir Henry Cochrane. Two houses at present occupied by Mr Thomas Murtagh and Mr Patrick Byrne.

26.

14 February 1854. Fee Farm Grant to James Taylor. Rent £23-15-6. Two houses in Main Street at present occupied by W. V. Bell & Sons and Mr Eugene Traynor.

9 October 1854. To Henry Adams for the lives of Princess Helena Augusta Victoria, Princess Louisa Caroline Alberta and Prince Arthur William Patrick Albert, the fifth, sixth and seventh children of Queen Victoria, and renewable forever. Rent £5-10-9. Two houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mrs William Taylor and Mr Anthony Conlon.

10 October 1854. To Henry Maxwell for three lives (as in no. 17) and renewable forever. Rent £8. The tenant to pay 1/- per year for right of way to the rear. This premises in Barrack Street is at present the Garda Barracks.

10 October 1854. To Henry Adams for three lives (as in no. 17) and renewable forever. Rent £6-14-0. Covenant to insure premises for £300. Two houses in Henry Street at present occupied by Mr Liam Kelly and Mr Frank Traynor.

10 October 1854. To Henry Adams for three lives (as in no. 17) and renewable forever. Rent £9-12-0. Covenant to insure for £300. This house in Henry Street is at present occupied by Mr Joseph Cox.

10 October 1854. To Henry Maxwell for three lives (as in no. 17) and renewable forever. Rent £30. Covenant to insure for £300. This lease includes three houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mr Cecil McKinley, Mr Patrick Finegan and Mr Thomas J. Martin.

24 November 1857. Fee Farm Grant to John Brady. Rent £8-13-10. This house in Market Square is now occupied by O'Hanlon Bros.

8 October 1858. To Thomas Chambers for the lives of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge and renewable forever. Rent £30. This house in Main Street is now occupied by Graham's Hotel and the shop of Graham & Co.

18 December 1858. Fee Farm Grant to James Small and Robert Small. Rent £58-3-4. This lease includes two houses in Main Street occupied by Mr J. McLaverty and Mr L. McElearney; twelve houses in Anne Street occupied by Mrs F. McDonald, Guard Wood, Mrs J. J. Walsh, Miss Clarke, Miss K. Lynch, Mr H. Finnegan, Mr J. Gaynor, Mr J. Gerrity, Mr J. Cullivan, Mrs McDaniel and Mrs J. Bell; and 6a. 1r. 26p. statute measure in the townland of Tanderagee and 3a. 0r. 2p. in the townland of Drumbannon.

18 December 1858. Fee Farm Grant to James Small and Robert Small. Rent £17-4-8. This house in Main Street is now occupied by Mr E. Jameson.

3 January 1861. To George King for three lives (as in no. 17) and renewable forever. Rent £17-8-0. Covenants to insure for £300 and against alienation or sub-letting without the landlord's consent. House in Main Street let in flats by Mrs L. Boddy.

26 February 1861. To Richard Clarke for the lives of the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred Robert and Prince Arthur William Patrick Albert and renewable for ever. Rent £19-19-8. This lease includes one house in Main Street at present occupied by Mr Frank Clarke and four houses in Anne Street occupied by Mr D. Millar, Mr F. Ward, Mrs J. McCullagh and Mrs J. Mitchell.

14 January 1863. Fee Farm Grant to Edward Soden. Rent £13-5-0. House in Main Street let in flats by Mr T. J. Martin.

12 June 1866. Fee Farm Grant to the Commissioners for Administering the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in Ireland. Rent £12. The grant contains a clause that in case the premises should not be used for three years as a Workhouse, they should be conveyed to the Landlord who will pay the value of the buildings (to be ascertained by consent or in default by arbitration).

The premises are now occupied by George Earl & Co. Ltd.

31 December 1869. To Thomas Gilmour, Robert Williamson, John Henry, James Ryder and William Burns, trustees nominated on behalf of the Second Presbyterian Congregation, Bailieborough. Term for ever. Rent £3. Covenant to erect a Manse for the minister within two years. This is the Manse of Second Bailieborough Presbyterian Church.

17 December 1872. To Charles Smith for the lives of Thomas Young Chambers, Joseph Chambers and William Chambers, first, second and third sons of Thomas Chambers, and renewable forever. Rent £11-6-8. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. Two houses in Main Street, at present occupied by Mrs E. White and Mr T. O'Reilly.

17 December 1872. To Philip Carroll for the lives of Thomas Carroll, John Carroll and Philip Carroll, the second, third and fourth sons of the lessee. Rent £8-6-8. This house in Henry Street is at present occupied by Mr Thomas Brady.

17 December 1872. To James Ryder for three lives (as in no. 41) and renewable forever. Rent £6-13-4. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. This lease includes the two houses in Anne Street at present occupied by Mr E. Rodgers and Mr McHugh.

18 March 1873. To James Small for the lives of James Small, Frederick James Small and Robert Taylor Small, and renewable forever. Rent £6-9-0. This lease covers two houses in Henry Street at present occupied by Mr Eugene Farrell and Mr John Clarke.

18 March 1873. To William Bartley for the lives of William Bartley, Patrick White Bartley and Charles James Bartley, second, fourth and fifth sons of the lessee, and renewable forever. Rent £10-5-8. This house in Main Street is at present occupied by Mrs H. McElwaine.

18 March 1873. To John Corrie for the lives of John Henry

Corrie, Thomas Corrie and James Corrie, the first, second and third sons of the lessee, and renewable forever. Rent £11-16-2. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. This lease covers three houses in Anne Street at present occupied by Mr John Keenan, Mr Ultan McCabe and Mr James Gaynor.

47.

18 March 1873. To Edward Williamson for three lives (as in no. 41) and renewable forever. Rent £11-15-0. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. This lease covers four houses in Anne Street at present occupied by Mr Thomas Franey, Miss Stafford and Miss M. A. Clarke, and one unoccupied.

48.

18 March 1873. To John Parker for three lives (as in no. 41) and renewable forever. Rent £6-12-4. Covenant to insure for £200. This lease covers two houses in Anne Street at present occupied by Mr James Wall and Mr James Francey.

49.

29 October 1874. To James Small forever. Rent £15-10-0. Additional covenant on the part of the lessee not to use said premises for building purposes or for the erection of houses, for the purpose of letting to under-tenants, or permit the premises then standing thereon to be used for the trade or business of a vintner, distiller, brewer, fruit seller, herb seller, coffee house, or tavern house, ale house keeper, victualler, tripe boiler, butcher, or the sale of tripe or meat, baker, pastry cook, poulterer, fishmonger, cheesemonger, household broker, dealer in old iron, farrier, working hatter, working culter, chimney sweeper, bagnio keeper, coach maker, soap boiler, tallow chandler, tallow melter, sugar baker, blacksmith, whitesmith, coppersmith, working brazier, tin-man, plumber, dyer, or any other noxious or noisy trade or business whatever, nor convert the said premises or any part thereof into a shop, warehouse, shed for the sale of coal, potatoes, vegetables or victuals of any kind without the consent in writing of the lessor under a penalty of an additional rent of £100. The lease includes 5a. 1r. 14p. in the townland of Tanderagee. This lease covers the premises of the Lourdesville Secondary School.

50.

10 December 1874. To James Carroll for the lives of Michael Mulligan and Thomas Mulligan, sons of Patrick Mulligan, and John Carroll, first son of the lessee. Several rights of way re-

served. Rent £6-6-4. Covenant to insure for £200. This lease covers one house in Main Street at present occupied by Mr John Reilly.

51.

26 January 1875. To Philip Carroll for three lives (as in no. 42) and renewable forever. Rent £9-12-0. This lease covers three houses in Henry Street at present occupied by Mr Patrick Cunningham, Mr M. Brennan and Mr Matthew Lynch.

52.

2 February 1875. To Young Parr for the lives of William Parr and Samuel Parr, sons of the lessee and Henry Wilson. Rent £13-13-0. Permission was given by endorsement to the lessee to erect dwelling houses in the rear without being subject to the penal clauses. The lease covers three houses in Main Street occupied by Mrs Hartley, Mr P. J. O'Reilly's Office, Mrs T. Martin, and two houses in Church Street occupied by Mr Brian Clarke and Mr John Millar.

53.

3 February 1875. To John James Maxwell for the lives of Thomas Young Chambers, eldest son of Thomas Chambers of the Hospital, Bailieborough, Robert Johnston and Francis Roundtree, and renewable forever. Rent £20-12-8. Covenant to insure the premises for £300. This house in Main Street is at present occupied by Mr Pat Brady.

54.

23 September 1876. To Philip Carroll for three lives (as in no. 42) and renewable forever. Rent £10-7-0. This lease covers four houses in Anne Street at present occupied by Nurse Carolan, Mr Philip McDonald, Mr Joseph O'Brien and Mr J. J. Farrell.

55.

23 September 1876. To John James Maxwell for three lives (as in no. 53) and renewable forever. Rent £18. Covenant to insure for £300. This lease covers two houses in Thomas Street at present occupied by Mr John McCabe and Mrs J. McEntee, and one unoccupied.

56.

11 January 1877. Fee Farm Grant to the Northern Banking Company. Rent £20. Covenant to insure the premises for £1,000.

24 October 1877. To Thomas Chambers for ever. Rent £21-13-6. Covenant to insure for £700. Presentation Convent.

2 August 1878. Fee Farm Grant to the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. Rent one penny. A clause limited the use of this to a residence for the teacher in the Model School. (This premises known as the Model School, was the teacher's residence until the retirement of Mr and Mrs Douglas in 1935. Then it was taken over despite protests, and was used for a Technical School until the present new school was built.)

2 August 1878. Grant for ever to Hugh Kidd Simpson, John Cranston, James Small, and Isaac Broome, Trustees of the Second Presbyterian Congregation, Bailieborough. Rent 5/-. Covenant to insure for £400. This is the present Masonic Hall.

11 June 1883. Fee Farm Grant to the Rev. William Graham Campbell, Rev. James Frazer, Robert Gibson, Robert King and William Madden. Rent £2. Covenant to insure for £600. This is the present Methodist Church and Manse.

24 October 1885. Fee Farm Grant to William Cranston and Annie Moore. Rent £20-16-2. This is a House in Market Square occupied at present by Mr Patrick Clarke.

27 January 1887. Fee Farm Grant to Thomas Chambers, Isaac Broom, Alexander Gilmor and Mary Jane Gilmor, his wife. Rent £21-18-8½. This grant also included "the parcel of land in the townland of Tullicushlin, containing 5a. 1r. 10p. Irish Plantation Measure". This covers two houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mr Thomas Bell and Capt. T. C. C. Vance's office.

8 October 1888. To Harris Parr. Rent £8-9-6. Covenant to insure for £400. This lease covers two houses in Church Street at present occupied by Mr M. Argue and Mrs P. Farrell and two houses in Adelaide Row occupied by Mr Albert Gibson and Mrs Owen Gunne.

8 October 1888. To Harris Parr. Rent £4. Covenant to insure for £300. This lease covers one House in Church Street at present occupied by Mr J. Mitchell and one house in Adelaide Row occupied by Mrs. N. McArdle.

8 October 1888. Fee Farm Grant to Thomas Hall. Rent £10-3-8. Covenant to insure for £600. This lease covers four houses in Barrack Street at present occupied by Mr B. Crossan, Miss McEnroe, Mr T. Gargan, and Mr James A. English's office.

12 August 1891. To Elizabeth Maxwell for ever. Rent £12-2-0. Covenant to insure for £600. This lease covers three houses in Barrack Street at present occupied by Mr Charles McFadden, Mr John Clarke and Mr Hugh Carolan.

21 August 1891. To Mary Brady, tenant from year to year. Rent £16-17-6. This lease covers three houses in Market Square at present occupied by Mr J. Mitchell, Mr E. Murtagh and Mr Leo Kierans.

25 November 1891. Fee Farm Grant to Henry O'Haire. Rent £15-10-0. Covenant to insure for £800. This lease covers Post-Office Square at present occupied by Mr Daniel O'Reilly.

3 June 1893. To Patrick O'Reilly, for ever. Rent £9-12-0. Covenant to insure for £500. This lease covers two houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mr Philip Fitzpatrick and Mr Patrick Carolan.

22 June 1893. Fee Farm grant to John James Chambers. Rent £3-3-0. Rights of way reserved. This is the house in Main Street at present occupied by Mr John Reilly.

23 June 1893. To Thomas Daniel for ever. Rent £5-17-6. Covenant to insure for £500. This lease covers two houses in Barrack

Street, one occupied by Mr J. McEvoy with the shop occupied by Mr A. McEvoy, and the other by Mrs Dowd, daughter of Thomas Daniel.

72.

14 February 1899. To James Bracen. Rent £9. This house in Main Street is occupied by Mrs Irene Hall.

73.

14 February 1899. To Joseph Stafford. Rent £8. This house in Main Street is occupied by Mr J. H. McCartney.

74.

14 February 1899. To Andrew Donnelly. Rent £4. This house in Thomas Street is at present occupied by Mr Thomas McGovern.

75.

18 March 1899. To the Most Rev. Edward McGennis, Bishop of Kilmore, Rev. John O'Connor and Rev. Patrick O'Reilly for the term of 999 years. Rent £3. This is the present residence of the catholic curate.

76.

1899. A proposal for lease for 999 years signed by Harris Parr. Rent £9. Covenant to insure for £300 and to expend £200 in rebuilding premises within two years. This house in Main Street is at present occupied by Mr Francis Clarke.

77.

To John McKeon and James McKeon, joint-tenants from year to year. Rent £13-18-8. This lease covers two houses in Main Street at present occupied by Mr Thomas O'Brien and Mr Jack O'Connor.

78.

To William Bartley for ever. Rent £4-15-0. Covenant to insure for £300 and to build two dwelling houses. These two houses in Church Street are occupied at present by Miss Clarke and Miss E. Graham.

To Walter Dancey, tenant from year to year. Rent £4-6-5. This lease covers three houses in Adelaide Row at present occupied by Mrs J. J. Gray, Mrs S. Eakins and Mr R. Gray.

To J. Gibson Moore, tenant from year to year. Rent £2-14-6. This house in Main Street is at present occupied by Martin Bros.

To Philip Carroll for ever. Rent £4-14-10. Covenant to insure for £300. This lease covers four houses in Anne Street, at present occupied by Mr Michael Byrne, Mr T. R. Smyth, Mrs Clarke and Mr Patrick McGuirk.

WORD LISTS

The Royal Irish Academy has recently established a Committee for the study of Anglo-Irish Language and Literature. The Committee, as its name implies is concerned not only with Irish literature in the English language, but also with the vocabulary and idioms of the English language as spoken in Ireland. With the spread of education and the increasing penetration of the mass media of communication the disappearance of the characteristic language and phraseology of the various parts of the Irish countryside is being constantly accelerated, and if they are not to be entirely lost their recording has become a matter of extreme urgency.

Many regional word-lists have been compiled and laid aside, possibly because of lack of public interest. The Committee is anxious both to provide a permanent home for such lists and to make them acceptable for consultation by scholars working in the field of Anglo-Irish studies. If anyone has such a list or is willing to compile such a one for his own locality, he should write to the secretary of the committee, Mr Alan J. Bliss, M.A., B.Litt., M.R.I.A., 19 Dawson Street, Dublin, 2.

Kilmore Clergy List of 1723

Father Hugh Fenning, O.P. has kindly sent a transcript of the document which we print below. It is from the Archives of San Clemente, Codex I, Vol. I, f. 168rv. It is an authenticated copy of a document drawn up in July 1723 by the twenty-three Kilmore priests whose names appear on the list, denying the truth of the allegations made by one of their confreres, Philip Tully against the Administrator of the diocese, Primate Hugh McMahon.

Philip Tully was parish priest of Kilmore in 1704. cf. O'Connell, *The Diocese of Kilmore*, pp. 466 sq. He died in 1728. This list comes half-way between the 1704 list and Richardson's list of 1750. Its importance may be seen from the fact that only 5 priests on this list (including Philip Tully) appeared on the 1704 list and only 4 priests on this list appear again on the 1750 list. It fills a very big lacuna. Our best thanks are due to Father Fenning.

— The Editor.

Cum non sine ingenti nostro stupore et animorum indignatione nobis relatum fuerit, unum e nostris confratribus nempe Philippum Tully non solum exhibuisse elapso mense Maio huius anni 1723, quaedam frivola et ficta gravamina adversus Illustrissimum et (quantum per angustias temporum licuit et frequentes quas patitur persecutiones) Vigilantissimum Administratorem nostrum Hugonem Archiepiscopum Armacanum totius Hiberniae Primatem, vero etiam eo temeritatis et impudentiae pervenisse, ut non erubuerit eiusmodi querimonias nomine nostro porrigere, affirmans se ad eum finem a nobis delegatum fuisse : et quandoquidem huiusmodi calidae machinationes eo collimant, ut iudici competenti fucum faciant, illumque in patrocinium perditae suae causae fraudulenter inducant, simul et suavem (quae hucusque constans perstitit inter dictum Illustrissimum Administratorem et nos) harmoniam disturbent. Hinc est quod nos infrascripti Pastores et Clerus Killmorensis attestemur et notum faciamus, quod quidquid praedictus Philippus Tully, praetenso nomine nostro, in hac parte egerit tam falsum sit quod falsissimum : Cum neminem unquam deputaverimus ad eum effectum, imo nec minimum innotuerint et nequidem in mentem venerint huiusmodi machinationes. Quapropter enixe rogamus et supplicamus ut vaferrimis illis figmentis nulla fides adhibeatur, sed e contrario eorum artifex falsarii paenam luat. Ita sincere declaramus et humiliter petimus in nostris respective refugiis hoc mense Julii 1723.

Signatum erat:—Michael Reilly, U.J.D. et Vic. Gen. Killmorensis.
 Eugenius Hugonius S.T.Dr.
 Carolus Magaman de Killynach S.T.D.
 Eugenius Parlan, S.T.D. et cura. de Templeport.
 Milesius Parlan Parochus de InnismacRac.
 Bernardus Gleoin parochus d'Rossinvir.
 Jo. Drumond parochus Kilenahensis.
 Phelemeus MacMorci de Clunclare.
 Patritius MacKiernan.
 Philippus Gaffney Pastor de Dromrely.
 Cornelius Loghlin Pastor d'Oughteragh.
 Edm. Gaglinan Pastor de Dromleane.
 Hugo Brady P. d'Killsenden.
 Bernardus Thaly Rector de Castletaragh.
 Daniel O'Muldune A.
 Michael Smith d'Drumgune.
 Patritius Macabe d'Deure [the "u" uncertain:]
 Patritius Lynch d'Annagh.
 Philippus Finegan d'Lavoy.
 Bernardus Smith de Killenecare.
 Hugo Reilly d'Ballintemple.
 Carolus Reilly d'Lorgan.
 Phill. Fay.

Facta collatione cum originali, invenimus concordare de verbo ad verbum; Ita testamur in loco refugii hac die 12 Februarii anno 1724.

Signatum: Lucas Episcopus Midensis.

M. Russell decanus Dubliniensis, protonotarius apostol.

Locus * Sigilli.

CUMANN SEANCHAIS BHREIFNE

1968

8 FEBRUARY :

Very Rev. F. McKiernan lectured in Carrigallen on the 1821 Census for Carrigallen. There was an audience of nearly 100. Rev. P. Young, C.C., acted as chairman. The lecture resulted in an increase of 18 new members for the Society.

10 MAY :

The annual lecture was given by Mr Oliver Snoddy, M.A., Art & Industrial Section, National Museum; his title was 'The Orange Lodges, Yeomanry and Volunteers of Co. Cavan in the 18th Century'. There was a crowd of about 120. Mrs Vera McCarthy, County Librarian, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim delivered the vote of thanks to Mr Snoddy, which Rev. D. Gallogly seconded.

The Annual General Meeting was held in the Ulster Arms Hotel, Cavan. Dr. F. P. E. Smith was elected chairman, and Uasal Liam O Ceallaigh, Bailieboro vice-chairman. The other officers and the committee were re-elected en bloc.

12 JUNE :

The first field-day of the year was held. Members visited the important historical sites of Ballyshannon, Cill Barron, Rosnowlagh, and Donegal Town. Mr. T. Emerson of Cumann Seanchais Dhún na nGall kindly acted as guide.

15 JULY :

The annual field-day took place. About 100 members, as well as some members from the Cavan Photographic Society took part. The first stop was Bellamont Forest, the home of Major-Gen. E. Dorman O Gowan. The Major-General himself received the party, described the history of the seat, and guided the people through the house. Next was Cohaw Court Cairn where Mr. T. Barron, N.T., spoke. Then to the Worm Ditch where Rev. D. Gallogly spoke on the history of the Ditch and outlined it. The final stop was Clones where Mr. P. Ó Mórdha spoke on the historical sites of the town, and gave a brilliant talk on the Battle of Clones of 1646.

18 NOVEMBER :

Rev. D. Gallogly, St. Patrick's College, Cavan, lectured in Manorhamilton on the O'Rourkes of Breifne to a large audience. The lecture was organised by Mr Oliver Haslette, B.A., Manorhamilton.

Cumann Seachais Bhreifne

LIST OF MEMBERS

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- HUNT, Mrs. A. G., Farnham St., Cavan.
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- KEOGAN, Rev. T., St. Felim's College, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.
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- KELLY, Rt. Rev. Peter Dean, P.P., Keadue, Boyle, Co. Roscommon.
- KELLY, Miss Mary, N.T., Crosserlough.
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Published by
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and printed by
R. & S. Printers,
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